

Resources

The Black Book (The Reparators Manual) has been produced by Amistad-March 31 (A.M. 31), a chapter of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), with members located in the infamous Ellis 1 Unit of the Texas Prison system at Huntsville, TX, and elsewhere in the U.S. Empire. It is a contribution to the "repair" (and all that encompasses) of Blacks being held prisoner/captive in/on prisons, plantations and concentration camps of the white supremacy power system". As the introduction says, the book serves "multiple purposes" summed up best by saying that "it helps to free Our mind so that Our asses will follow."

PNS readers will be familiar with some of the ideas in the booklet from reading Prince Imari Obadele's contributions to this paper in which he has articulated what A.M. 31's perspective is on the relationship of Black prisoners to the wider New Afrikan community. They argue for the addition of social-political prisoner SPP to go along with P.O.W./Political Prisoner as a means of understanding the complex relationship between white supremacy, prisons, repression and colonization. S.P.P. is defined as "those persons who are members of traditionally enslaved, colonized, and oppressed nations who have 'engaged in often desperate acts intended simply to vent their legitimate rage at the sorry social status assigned them, or to better their deprived material position (however slightly and transiently).' Obviously, We do not promote or condone, or otherwise put a stamp of approval on acts committed against the oppressed, whether economic or heinous, that most of the SPP's commit. After all we are about the business of ending and repairing (reparations) the destruction that has been visited upon Us whether internal or external, *not* contributing to it."

The Black Book also includes some of the basic documents and statements of the struggle for New Afrika: the Declaration of Independence of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, the New Afrikan Creed, which is a statement of belief and a pledge of action for the New Afrikan, and The New Afrikan 9 Steps, which is a system of belief for disciplining the mind and body.

Prisoners can get a copy of the booklet by sending 5 stamps, non-prisoners, please send \$4.00 to cover costs. Write to:

The House of Songhay
Commission for Positive Education
P.O. Box 75437
Baton Rouge, LA 70874

Friends of Political Prisoners (FOPP) in Madison have published *Letters from Exile*, featuring the writings of Ray Levasseur. It includes articles of his that have been published in many newspapers, including PNS, as well as excerpts from his personal letters sent to FOPP. Anyone familiar with Ray's writings will know that he is a very insightful, clear and compassionate writer. His unwavering dedication to the struggle, and his ability to connect his experiences as a prisoner, as a soldier in the war against Vietnam, and the many years he spent living and continuing the struggle in clandestinity, is a continual source of inspiration for us. The well produced booklet costs \$3.00 American in either the U.S. or Canada. Well worthwhile having, it is a good book to lend to friends who are becoming interested in prison issues. Ray's writing will have an impact on their political understanding. Write:

Friends of Political Prisoners
P.O. Box 3113
Madison, WI 53704

The recent issue of the *Pelican Bay Prison Express* had extensive details regarding the lawsuit against the Control Unit at Pelican Bay in California. The vicious brutality to which prisoners were regularly subject, and the callous disregard for emergency medical care is shocking even by the usual standards of the American prison systems. This is an extremely important case, and anyone interested in it, should write to:

Pelican Bay Prison Express
2489 Mission St. #28
San Francisco, CA 94110

The address for the *National Incarcerated Muslim Network* which we ran in the last issue was unfortunately missing two lines when the paper came back from the printers.

The Network has three purposes:

1. To survey any national trend to discriminate against incarcerated Muslims.
2. To provide imprisoned Muslims with assistance in obtaining Islamic literature and information.

ture and information.

3. To help Muslims in prison seek support from outside Islamic committees.

Write:

National Incarcerated Muslim Network
Yassir Abdul al Malik
C/o Maurice Taylor #476837
Rt 3, Box 59
Rosharon, TX 77583

The Toronto-based coalition, PASAN (Prisoners with AIDS/HIV Support Action Network), was formed to help address the needs of prisoners with HIV/AIDS and to advocate for related policies. PASAN believes that the AIDS crisis in the Canadian prison systems is a product of government inaction. In an attempt to provide a voice to PWA's and those concerned with HIV/AIDS in prisons, PASAN will be contributing material on a regular basis to PNS. While also discussing the work of PASAN and developments regarding issues of concern in a regular column, we are asking prison writers for submissions of articles, stories, poems and art. We are particularly seeking informative work related to:

* Legal issues concerning PWAs (prisoners with AIDS). This includes ongoing court cases and/or past court decisions, whether favourable to the struggle or not.

* Peer groups, what they are doing, how they came about, ideas to start new ones, what sorts of problems were/are encountered and how roadblocks were successfully overcome.

* Peer and other types of effective counselling.

* Any other issues that relate to the current crisis of HIV/AIDS in the prisons and ongoing problems encountered by PWA's upon release to the community.

Forward submissions to either:

Prison News Service
P.O. Box 5052, Stn A
Toronto, Ont M5W 1W4

or

PASAN
517 College St. Suite 327
Toronto, Ont M6G 4A2

PRISON NEWS SERVICE

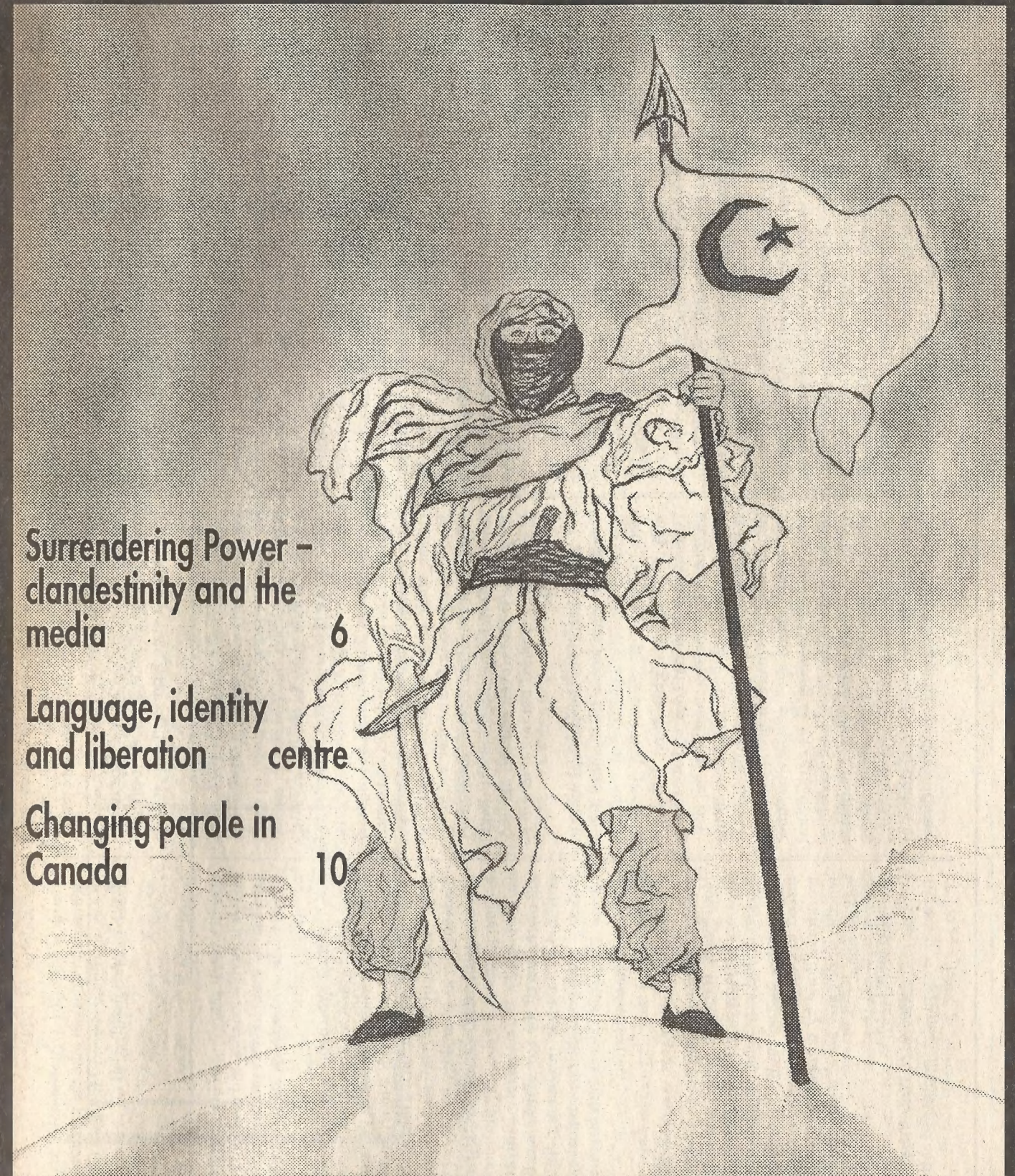
a bulldozer publication

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Collins Bay lockdown!

Collins Bay Institution (CBI), a 550-bed, medium security prison in Kingston, Ontario, has become unstable almost overnight. Kenny Nelles died here on Jan. 14, 1994, three weeks ago. He choked to death in his sleep. Apparently heroin induced the choking. Kenny's death and two non-lethal heroin overdoses at about the same time put us in a lockdown situation.

Unexpectedly, prison staff did not begin to search right away. We speculated that they were waiting for dogs that might sniff out the heroin. On the third day of the lockdown, and with the search yet to begin, everyone received a lengthy memo from the warden saying new cell regulations would be put into effect during the coming search. Those regulations included prohibitions on cardboard, plastic, nylon, and wood and strict limits on personal property. The "search" lasted for ten days.

Collectively prisoners were forced to send out tons of books, clothes, hobbycraft tools and supplies, personal documents, and such sundry items as Tupperware containers, cups, photo albums, and even canned food and toiletries, all of which had been acquired through officially sanctioned means and all of which was shipped out by courier at the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC)'s expense. Confusion reigned. Claims against the Crown for damaged and "lost" items will likely total many thousands of dollars.

As the lockdown began to wind down, the Warden issued another lengthy memo. This one gave notice that upon the reopening of the prison, new rules for movement and new restrictions on recreation would be put into effect. The net result of these changes and the "search" is that the prison has become unstable. Prisoners are openly discussing civil disobedience and not so openly discussing other actions. Having spent the first nine years of the seventeen I have served in maximum security, I recognize the many signs of the maximum security mindset that have surfaced here over the past three weeks.

Last night, February 2, a knife disappeared from the kitchen, bringing us to

another lockdown after only one day of regular work. Prisoners suspect a staff member took the knife; staff suspect a prisoner did. Ostensibly the Warden's actions were to have contributed to making Collins Bay Institution safer; just the opposite effect has been realized.

Uncertainty, frustration and anger have caused stress. The stress has already led to confrontations between staff and prisoners, and more will likely follow. Staff expect trouble, too. Some of them feel badly about stripping every cell bare; others are now more in their element.

The legality of the Warden's actions is at question, but a legal remedy to the present situation seems highly unlikely. To make matters worse, the prison's population is already double-bunked, and more double-bunking is just ahead.

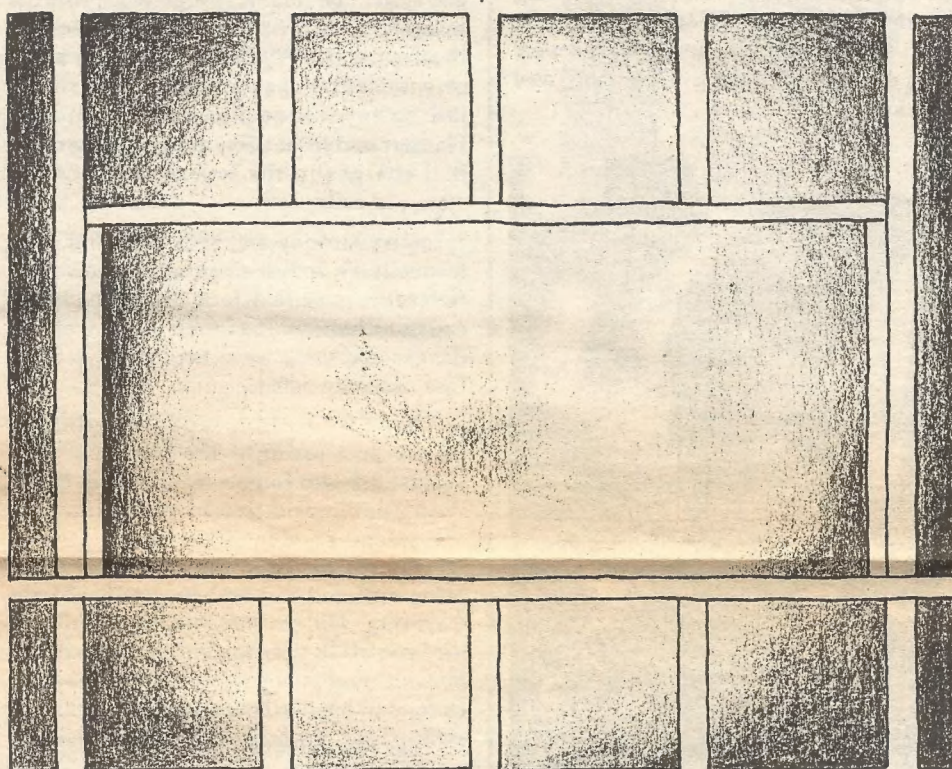
For the past five years, the administration at CBI has actively encouraged greater interaction between prisoners and staff. There are only a few electric gates in the prison; most barriers and cell doors are

opened by key. This means potential for confrontation increases dramatically with an increase in stress on relations between prisoners and staff. To put it another way: the structure of the prison is not well suited to accommodate a population with a maximum security mindset. The prison can certainly be locked down completely. If, however, it is to be open, with prisoners working and going to school and having recreation, then its smooth running depends on good relations between prisoners and staff.

It is now 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, February 3. We remain locked down while we await our first meal of the day. I suppose further lockdowns are inevitable. Regardless of where in this situation one's sympathies lie, one would, I hope, acknowledge that CBI has become a meaner place. Making prison conditions meaner hardens the people living in those conditions, making them less friendly and less peaceful. In turn, this leads to a more difficult reintegration into the community at large. What does that mean? More drug use, more crime, and more prison sentences. ∞

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Box 6700

Kingston, Ont K7L 5P8



Update:

The month-long lockdown at Collins Bay (CBI) is over, but tensions between staff and prisoners remain high. Though CBI has been a heavy-duty medium security prison for some time now, prisoners have had a lot of freedom to move around, keep personal possessions, and a relatively good range of programs. But new rules have come down that severely restrict the movement of the five hundred prisoners. Kitchen and cleaning staff used to have access to the gym during the day, but now gym is limited to the evening period, putting much more pressure on a crucial prison activity. Two months ago, ideas were floated by prison authorities which would have encouraged prisoners to set up their own businesses while they were still inside. But one of the new restrictions would now limit the ways in which prisoners can generate income.

In a phone interview, Roy Glareman says that the biggest change that will occur as a result of the lockdown, besides damaging relations between prisoners and staff, will be to encourage more jailhouse lawyer activity. Because conditions within Canadian prisons have been relatively good, there has been very little legal challenge of the CSC by prisoners doing their own legal work. CBI has a very poor law library, and no legal assistance. But Glareman expects this to change and says that a legal challenge to the recent lockdown and sweep is already being prepared.

The law governing the operation of the CSC (see Glareman's article on page 10) has recently been changed. It was developed while Ole Ingstrum was head of the CSC, and reflects his reformist approach based on his experience in Scandinavian prisons. So even though Ingstrum has left, the new Act has given prisoners a base from which to offer legal challenges to repressive measures by clearly indicating procedures that must be followed, and outlining specific rights for prisoners. This could become very important as the CSC seems to be preparing for an expected increase in the federal prison population.

Things remain tense as the prisoners wait to see what happens next. We'll continue to cover this situation at the Bay.

Miseducating about AIDS/HIV in Ontario

Technically, there is no longer a death penalty in Canada. Reality is, however, that without education, treatment and preventative measures for HIV/AIDS in prisons, people are being sentenced to death. The Correctional Services of Canada (CSC) is meanwhile obliged by law of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (Bill C-36) to "provide every inmate with essential health care ... [which] shall conform to professionally accepted standards ..." (86.(1),(2)). It is not unusual that CSC falls short of its so-called standards even in life and death situations. The crisis of HIV/AIDS in the prisons is a grave example of its shortcomings.

Millhaven Institution remains the Ontario region's federal reception, induction and assessment prison. This means that for most, this is where the first impressions that will often prevail during the period of confinement, are made. Highlights of what currently transpires during prisoners' initial steps in addressing the HIV/AIDS crisis.

Aware that a large percentage of prisoners are of high-risk groups exposed to HIV/AIDS (practicing unsafe sex and IV-drug abusers), health care staff encourage all prisoners to have HIV tests. They make sure to inform the leery that any results of these tests will remain confidential without "even the warden" being told. They also

encourage prisoners that should their tests prove positive, to not tell other prisoners. Inquiry reveals that health care staff are stymied by requests for pre- and post-test counselling and answer most questions of prisoners with, "well, we all live with those kinds of fears." Perhaps worst of all, health care staff seems completely unaware of local community resources currently available to educate, support and counsel prisoners, especially prisoners with HIV/AIDS (PWA's).

While initial visits by prisoners to Health Care Services (HSC) is certainly brief, with up to 25-30 arrivals each week, it is up to health care to discourage mis-information, encourage education and assist prisoners with what is their right to information concerning their physical and mental health. It is exactly the kind of ignorance currently displayed by health care staff that spreads the fears, myths and misconceptions of HIV/AIDS.

Stressing that "not even the warden" will be informed of positive HIV results is a misconception. Confidentiality of personal information is a myth. And telling a prisoner not to tell others if they are ill with a communicable disease simply heightens their worst fears, that they will suffer even more than they are already are.

Any health care staff asserting that

"not even the warden" will be informed is unaware of current law. Section 13 of Bill C-36 clearly states, "The institution head [warden] may refuse to receive a person ... into the penitentiary if there is not a certificate signed by a registered health care professional setting out available information and stating whether or not the person appears to be suffering from a dangerous or contagious disease." While this law contradicts doctor/patient confidentiality that is every persons' right, it also contradicts assertions of health care staff. Approximately 95% of Millhaven prisoners are soon transferred to other area prisons accompanied by their health care files.

Perhaps the worst fear of PWA's is that because of their status, other prisoners will ostracize them, be afraid to be in close confinement with them and as a result, be segregated for the duration of their period in prison. CSC claims, by way of Commissioners Directives, that a PWA should not be segregated because of their illness. At the same time, there are PWA's currently serving time in segregation for no other reason other than their status. It is already difficult enough to deal with the grief of a slow but sure death without having to also endure that grief alone in a prison cell.

Comprehensive, factual education on HIV/AIDS for all staff and prisoners would alleviate all the prevailing fear. Knowing that HIV/AIDS can not be spread through casual contact will reduce the fear of prisoners in close confinement. Education would show that using universal precautions will protect them against a fatal disease. And it would encourage HIV

testing so that a prisoner can receive treatment and be responsible to not spread the deadly virus.

Current education at Millhaven consists of an "Inmate Handbook" produced by Health Care Services, CSC, Atlantic Region. On a single page of this booklet there is a brief description of AIDS, referring to it as a "serious illness" instead of a fatal one. The information includes a brief list of symptoms, two ambiguous statements about treatment and several others about prevention. Analysis of this information shows that the writer(s) expect prisoners to "not share needles" and to not get tattoos or pierce their ears. The material takes an idealistic approach (assuming that prisoners will do as they are told) instead of a practical one and also assumes that prisoners can and will read the booklet.

Any enlightened person knows that not enough information, and/or mis-information can be worse than none at all. What health care staff tell a prisoner will remain in his or her mind, regardless of what they may hear later on. Even when what they learn in the future is the truth, it simply adds to the confusion because prisoners do not place much trust in the words of their keepers. All of what has been said shows that a matter of consequence is policy that provides HIV/AIDS education, testing and treatment in the prisons by community organizations and professionals dedicated to ending the crisis. Prisoners, prisoners' rights advocates, community organizations and even government commissioned experts have been asserting this for many years. ∞

Zoltan Lugosi for PASAN

Support Eddie Hatcher, Boycott North Carolina

As the case of Native American Political Prisoner Eddie Hatcher gains more and more worldwide attention, the world community is also realizing that Human Rights in the state of North Carolina simply do not exist. With one of the highest numbers of hate crimes of any of the 50 states; North Carolina is a place where Native Americans and African Americans must still struggle for recognition within the state's colleges and universities; where workers' wages are among the lowest of those anywhere in the U.S.; where the good old boy corrupt machines still dominate and control the courtrooms, the legislature and the governor; and *where cocaine is king and tobacco queen*. So it is not surprising that Eddie Hatcher continues to be imprisoned illegally.

Over the past 5 years, Hatcher and his local defense committee have witnessed and been the target of the most blatant of illegal, unconstitutional, degrading acts by the government of both North Carolina and the U.S. Yet, we have continuously worked within legal and ethical means to organize and petition the government for justice and Hatcher's freedom. At each step, the government has tightened the noose and com-

mitted acts even more blatant, as a lesson to us that "they" hold the power.

From the officials of North Carolina to the infamous United States Senator from N.C., Jesse Helms; Eddie Hatcher, his family and his attorneys have faced injustices which must be addressed — Human Rights violations of the highest degree.

Background

On February 1, 1988, Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs, both of the Tuscarora Nation, seized the offices of *The Robesonian* newspaper in Robeson County, N.C. They occupied the building and held 14 employees for ten-and-a-half hours.

Eddie had long worked for the rights of Blacks and Natives in Robeson County, an area plagued by racism and police brutality. Over a few short years there had been over 20 unsolved murders of Blacks and Natives, and most were killed in execution style. The rural farming community had become deluged with cocaine, being known as the "little Miami" of the east Coast. But only Blacks and Natives were being charged with drug trafficking, and being killed.



Eddie Hatcher with lawyer William Kuntsler who was prevented from acting as Hatcher's attorney

After obtaining maps and documentation from a federal informer who had assisted the FBI and DEA in major drug convictions, Eddie possessed evidence that 34 major business people and law enforcement officers, including Sheriff Hubert Stone, were behind the major cocaine trafficking in the county and eastern North Carolina.

With this information, Eddie made contact with the FBI, DEA and Federal Customs. All refused to help. But in the process, after learning of the documentation Eddie had, Sheriff Stone met with State Bureau of Investigation agents and decided they would "have Eddie Hatcher before the week was out." (Federal Trial Transcript Testimony)

So, instead of the government assisting Eddie, they conspired with local officials to neutralize and/or kill him. With no avenue or alternative remaining, Eddie knew he had to put himself in a situation whereby the officials would not be able to dispose of him due to major attention. The result was the occupation of the *Robesonian Newspaper*.

Throughout the occupation, Eddie negotiated with the North Carolina governor and made only four demands: 1) that the Sheriff's department and the local judicial system be fully investigated; 2) that the mysterious deaths of Natives and Blacks in the County be fully investigated; 3) that the recent death of a young Black in the local jail be fully investigated; and 4) that Hatcher and Jacobs face any resulting criminal charges in the federal, rather than state, judicial system.

On October 14, 1988 Hatcher and Jacobs were acquitted of all charges by a federal jury which found that they had cause to believe that their lives were in danger, and that their actions were justified by a necessity defense.

North Carolina took a vindictive stance and brought the same charges against the two Indian men in state court. Weary and afraid, Jacobs plea-bargained and received a six-year sentence. Hatcher, fearing for his life, fled the state. After being captured and brought back to North Carolina, Hatcher plea-bargained and received an 18-year sentence in spite of the obvious double jeopardy of facing the same charges in the two court systems.

On November 8, 1993, Thelma Clark, Eddie's mother and a driving force behind his defense committee, was informed that Hatcher had been denied parole for the fourth time. On the three previous occasions, one of the reasons used by the parole commission to deny Eddie parole has been

their refusal to allow Eddie to return to Robeson County. Hatcher was again denied parole in spite of the fact that his family had moved to another county.

Boycott North Carolina

North Carolina is not only known worldwide for its Human Right violations, but is also known for its furniture and tourism market. And that is where the Free Eddie Hatcher campaign shall issue the call for an end to those Human Rights Violations in N.C.

The top furniture industries in N.C., including Broyhill Furniture which is a subsidiary of Interco Incorporation and Thomasville Furniture, bring millions of tax dollars to the state. These tax contributions allow and promote the continued unjust and corrupt political machines. Moreover, on information and belief, many of the top furniture industries have provided major contributions to campaign officials such as Jesse Helms, who filed *amicus* briefs against Eddie.

Targeting the Tourism Industry of N.C. and the top two furniture industries, will send a clear message to North Carolina.

How to help!

1.) Write letters to the C.E.O.s of Broyhill and Thomasville Furniture and advise them that until justice is rendered in the case of Native American Political Prisoner Eddie Hatcher (officially recognized as a political prisoner by the North Carolina Council of Churches) and the human rights violations in North Carolina cease, you shall lobby faithfully against their products.

2.) Write to North Carolina's Travel and Tourism, and inform them that you shall faithfully lobby travellers against visiting or spending any money in North Carolina as long as Injustice and Human Rights violations prevail in the Eddie Hatcher case. Call their nationwide toll-free number 1-800-847-4862.

3. Send copies of your letters to:

Governor Jim Hunt
State Capitol
Raleigh, N.C. 27603-8001

4.) Contact the many television game shows which promote Broyhill Furniture and Thomasville Furniture and demand that they discontinue their support of these products, explaining the need to do so.

5.) Contact groups and organizations in your area about the boycott and ask that they help spread the word.

6.) Write the governor of your state or officials within your county and demand that no business be transacted between your state or county and North Carolina until the injustices and Human Rights violations are fully addressed in the Eddie Hatcher case.

7.) Write letters to the editors of area newspapers informing readers of the boycott.

8.) Send for packets of flyers to distribute in your area.

9.) Set up a support group in your area. Send for the relevant information.

We humbly thank you for your continued support.

Eddie Hatcher Defense Committee
P.O. Box 1492
Hamlet, NC 28345
telephone 910-582-8113
fax 910-582-0017

A major demonstration has been planned for March 5, 1994 in front of the governor's mansion in Raleigh. Though it will be too late for most people since they'll get the paper after this date, it is a good time to send letters and phone calls. ∞

Write to:

Eddie Hatcher
P.O. Box 700
Raeferd, N.C. 28376

Stop the Super Max!!!

Ohio presently imprisons some 41,000 prisoners in 23 different penitentiaries designed to hold 21,738 and plans to build 6 more prisons, including a super-maximum or "Super Max" prison which will confine only 500 prisoners and cost taxpayers 15 million dollars. Super Max prisons, such as the U.S. Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois or the Pelican Bay State Prison in Crescent City, California or even the Super Max Unit at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, Ohio, increase and concentrate violence. Long term isolation increases a prisoner's psychotic level to where once released, he acts violently.

Super Max prisons are to imprison the "worst of the worst", yet the Prison Discipline Study, a report done by the Prisoners' Rights Union in California, shows that the group of prisoners most frequently abused by solitary confinement are jailhouse lawyers, union organizers, activists and those verbally expressing their opinions, and even those reporting conditions of confinement to people on the outside. As U.S. Supreme Court Justice, Harry A. Blackman, stated:

"...various kinds of state-sponsored torture and abuse ... commonly thought to be practiced only outside this nation's borders, are hardly unknown within the nation's prisons."

Super Max prisons give guards and administrative staff a green light in conducting and/or condoning the use of violent cell extraction procedures for even trivial reasons. Guards mace prisoners prior to entering the cell where they proceed to beat the prisoner until they are unconscious or in full restraint and beat them some more. This increases the number of lawsuits being filed, in which taxpayers' money is used to defend these guards — most of whom are guilty.

Deterrence is not a concern of prison officials when operating a Super Max prison as noted in the death of 2 guards at the federal penitentiary in Marion, IL, or the hostage situation in the Super Max Unit at Lucasville. Rather, Super Max prisons are destructive without the constructive element. It is not only a prison based on psychological conditioning, but, also a prison designed to decrease the mental stability of its victims, thus mak-

ing them more unpredictable and less controllable — a laboratory for experiments in social manipulation and control — so that society pays the consequences again and again once the prisoner is released from a Super Max prison.

To put a stop to the construction of a Super Max prison in Ohio, and to suggest that taxpayers' money be allotted to rehabilitative programs instead, which would benefit society as well as the prisoner, contact the Chairman of the General Assembly and any or all of the below: ∞

Ohio General Assembly
c/o the Chairman
State Office Tower
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Reginald A. Wilkinson, Director
Ohio Department of Rehab. and Corr.
1050 Freeway Dr. N.
Columbus, OH 43229

Vincent M. Nathan, Atty. at Law
644 Spitzer Bldg.
520 Madison Ave.
Toledo, OH 43694-1307

Paul C. Mifsud
Governor's Chief of Staff
State Office Tower
Columbus, OH 43215

from the Coalition to Stop the Super Max

Prison officials molest prisoner

During the months of August and September 1993, Michael Goldsmith, a prisoner in the segregation unit at the Racine Correctional Institution, relayed the story to me of how he was sexually assaulted by prison officials.

The first incident occurred during the afternoon of August 18, 1993.

Goldsmith was sleeping in his cell in the segregation unit when Sergeant Fuchs came to his cell door and woke him up. Fuchs ordered Goldsmith to stick his hands out of the trap so he could be handcuffed and escorted to the shower stalls while his cell was being searched.

A prison informant had notified the officers that Goldsmith had manufactured homemade handcuff keys and had these keys in his possession.

In Goldsmith's cell, what appeared to be a metal "shank" was found hidden in his toothpaste tube. Sometime later Goldsmith informed me that this was not a "shank", it was a device used to cut plastic. No keys were found in the cell. The strip search of Goldsmith was unsuccessful. Also, no keys were found on him.

Lieutenant Ron Molnar then came to the shower door where Goldsmith was confined during the search. Molnar was accompanied by Sergeant Fuchs, Officer West, Officer Stienke and three to four other officers.

Lieutenant Molnar asked Goldsmith where the cuff keys were. To which Goldsmith replied, "I don't know what you're talking about."

Lieutenant Molnar then ordered Goldsmith to put his feet and hands through the lower and upper traps so that he could be shackled and cuffed. Because he was going to be taken to the Health Service Unit (HSU) "for a body cavity search". Upon hearing this Goldsmith stated, "I'm not doing shit." Molnar then, against proper D.O.C. regulations and procedures, immediately unlocked the shower door. No camera, no one suited up, Goldsmith uncuffed, they tried to charge in and tackle him. Keep in mind that Goldsmith is only 135 lbs, 5'6" tall and has been confined in a segregation cell for the last ten months. Most of the prison staff average 200 lbs.

Muscle bound Sergeant Fuchs was the first to try and grab Goldsmith. But Goldsmith pushed him back into a tiled pillar and ran out of the shower stall. He got maybe 15ft. out into the day room area when six to seven guards jumped on him. He managed to still carry himself and the parasitic guards another 5ft. until one guard tripped him. And they all tumbled to the floor. The guards had him pinned to the floor, Officer Stienke yelled at Goldsmith to "stop resisting" and pulled his lower jaw shut by digging his fingers under Goldsmith's jaw, so he was not able to scream or yell out.

Goldsmith stated that, "Sergeant Fuchs and Officer West tried to break my arms by bending them and twisting them." He was eventually cuffed and shackled then lifted to his feet. They started to carry him out of the segregation unit and Goldsmith yelled out to everyone in the unit, "they are taking me to HSU to rape me!"

On the way to HSU Sergeant Fuchs and Officer West lifted Goldsmith off the ground by his wrists, bending them almost to where the pain was unbearable. They also kept stepping on the leg chains to maliciously inflict pain upon his ankles.

Upon entering the Health Service Unit Goldsmith was taken to an examining room where he noticed these individuals were present: Security Director Chris Ellerd, Lt. Ron Molnar, Dr. Malloy, Sgt.

Fuchs, Correctional Officer (C.O.) West, C.O. Stienke and C.O. Bethards.

Ellerd, Molnar and Dr. Malloy were all asking Goldsmith to tell them where the keys are. Goldsmith continued to deny he had any keys. Dr. Malloy then proceeded to intimidate Goldsmith by holding up his hand and slowly putting a rubber glove on. Molnar then stated, with a smirk on his face, "Doctor Malloy got a big hand." Thus making Goldsmith believe that Dr. Malloy was going to insert his whole hand in Goldsmith's rectum.

Sgt. Fuchs, accompanied by C.O. Stienke, started bending Goldsmith's wrists back again, causing severe pain, and deliberately stepping on the leg chains to cause him pain. Dr. Malloy said to Goldsmith, "if you tell us where the keys are there will be no need for this procedure."

So as to avoid the physical as well as mental torture that they were threatening to inflict upon Goldsmith, he admitted that he had two homemade handcuff keys in the entrance of his rectum, wrapped in plastic. He asked to be allowed to remove them himself or to be put on "dry cell" where the toilet in the cell is turned off until an officer had the opportunity to search the feces.

Dr. Malloy then stated, "it's too late for that," and applied the lubricant to the rubber glove he had on. Dr. Malloy deliberately lied to Goldsmith in the presence, and with full approval of Chris Ellerd, who himself is known for endorsing harsh segregation sentences to inmates he accuses of "lying". Can you say 'hypocrite'?

Goldsmith's prison clothes were stripped off and he was forcefully bent over an examination table by Sgt. Fuchs, C.O. West and C.O. Stienke. His underwear were pulled down from behind. One by one Dr. Malloy inserted his fingers in Goldsmith's rectum. He deliberately pushed the small package of two cuff keys further up into Goldsmith's rectum, thus he had an excuse to continue his despicable act.

Goldsmith states that, "Malloy put four fingers in my ass one by one as he pushed the keys out of reach. He then finger fucked my ass for 15 to 20 minutes, several times saying 'I have something' and then saying 'I lost it' to the amusement of everyone in the room!"

During the "cavity search" Sergeant Fuchs along with Dr. Malloy were saying "push like you're having a baby," further degrading and humiliating him by making him sound like he was their woman. At this statement Chris Ellerd and Ron Molnar were covering their mouths to hide their laughter, acting like the diabolical sadistic pigs they are.

Goldsmith states further that, "Malloy turned the keys sideways in my ass, he even mentioned this is what he had done. He made no attempt to straighten them out, he just jerked them out of my ass hard and fast, hurting me in the process." After this was done and the keys were retrieved, Dr. Malloy still continued to insert his fingers in and out of Goldsmith's rectum. Goldsmith asked him why he was doing this, at which Malloy stated, "I am just double-checking."

I remember when Goldsmith was brought back to the segregation unit after the "cavity search". He was put in the cell next to me and told me of how they "straight-up molested" him. A few times he broke out crying. Between his fits of crying he said, "those bastards raped me and they were all laughing and making jokes."

A situation such as this would be extremely hard for anyone to deal with. What type of human beings could actually

participate in a rape like this on another human being and stand around joking and laughing about it? There was no reason this deviant act had to be carried out, especially since Goldsmith had agreed to retrieve the cuff keys himself.

As I tried to figure this all out I started to reach the conclusion that this indeed was a sexual assault. Knowing the likes of Chris Ellerd, Ron Molnar, Dr. Malloy, Sgt. Fuchs, etc., it is not hard to come to that conclusion at all. But what solidly confirmed my suspicions is when it happened again. I truly believe Goldsmith is correct in his accusations that they raped him.

On the morning of September 9, 1993 C.O. Beres turned the water in Goldsmith's cell off, both sink and toilet. Then C.O. Beres had Goldsmith stick his feet and hands out of the traps to be cuffed and shackled so that he could be placed in the shower stalls for a cell search and a strip search. Goldsmith simply thought this to



be a random search procedure. After the cell and strip search turned up nothing he was then recuffed and shackled and escorted to Lt. Ron Molnar's office by two officers. Awaiting in the office were Molnar and Chris Ellerd. They both proceeded to interrogate Goldsmith, asking him if he had any more cuff keys hidden in his rectum. Ellerd and Molnar both threatened Goldsmith with another "body cavity" search in order to retrieve the cuff keys they claimed were hidden in his rectum.

Goldsmith assured them both that he had no cuff keys hidden in his rectum or anywhere else. He also stated to both of them that they should either take x-rays to determine if there were any type of contraband in his rectum, or place him on "dry cell" to have his feces dissected for contraband, rather than go to the extreme of a cavity search without a search warrant, which would make them liable to civil, as well as criminal suits.

The institution is equipped with an x-ray machine so there was no reason that this procedure should have been denied, other than the fact that Ellerd and Molnar enjoyed being in the presence of Dr. Malloy performing anal sex on Goldsmith.

When Ellerd and Molnar were through with interrogating and threatening Goldsmith, they had the two officers escort him back to the shower stalls for confinement. In the meantime Ellard and Molnar conferred with Dan Buchler, the acting warden, to obtain permission to have a "body cavity" search done on Goldsmith. The only grounds they had for a cavity search was that supposedly another inmate had informed them that Goldsmith had cuff keys.

Goldsmith was locked in the shower stalls from 11:00am to 3:00pm and was

denied his noon lunch meal. At 3:00pm he was approached by C.O. Dykstra and put in full restraints under the guise of going to Molnar's office for further questioning. Upon reaching the office, Molnar and Sgt. Fuchs were there waiting. Molnar then stated, "we're going to HSU to conduct a body cavity search."

Being in full restraints Goldsmith was forced to comply as he was grabbed and escorted to HSU by Fuchs, Dykstra and Molnar. Once at HSU Goldsmith was taken to a room where he noticed Chris Ellerd and Dr. Malloy were eagerly awaiting. It seems Ellerd and Dr. Malloy were eagerly awaiting. It seems Ellerd enjoys this so much that he got there early for a good seat.

Dr. Malloy asked Goldsmith where the keys were. Goldsmith responded by saying, "I don't have anything in my ass, you can take x-rays can't you?" Dr. Malloy, once again lying in the presence of old honest Ellerd, stated "x-rays won't pick up plas-

tic." Goldsmith then asked to be placed on "dry cell" to avoid the body cavity search, only to be denied by Ellerd, Molnar and Dr. Malloy, who were at this time more than likely becoming aroused at Goldsmith's pleading for an alternative. Also Sgt. Fuch and C.O. Dykstra had a firm grip on Goldsmith, so it was obvious the five deviants were gonna go all the way once again on their helpless victim.

Goldsmith said to Dr. Malloy, "you're not gonna finger fuck me like you did last time are you?" Malloy said, "I will do what is necessary." Goldsmith then pleaded with Dr. Malloy to not hurt him again.

Goldsmith states that, "my prison jumpsuit was then cut off from behind and my underwear were pulled down as Fuchs and Dykstra forcefully caned me over the examining table at the waist. Monar raised his hand as if he was going to try to spank my ass. They all thought it was funny."

This is only a small sample of the type of behavior that prison officials shamelessly condone amongst each other. If Ellerd was asked if he'd seen Molnar raise his hand to "jokingly" spank Goldsmith's ass you can bet what his answer would be. Remember, honest Ellerd will punish any inmates who lie. It's a different story when it comes to his fellow staff members.

Goldsmith further states that, "Dr. Malloy put on a rubber glove and lubricated it. Fuchs and Dykstra pinned me down to the table as Malloy inserted two fingers in my rectum going all the way in and finger fucking me for three to five minutes this time. Malloy finally said 'there's nothing I can detect', at which point it ended."

A couple of weeks later Goldsmith was for the third time escorted to HSU.

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New prison for women in Texas — ready for repression

On Tuesday November 23, 1993, together with 40 other women prisoners from the TDCJ-ID (Texas Department of Correctional Justice-Institutional Division) Mountain View and Riverside units, in Gatesville, I came to the new Hobby Unit, in Marlin, Texas and *I already need help urgently!*

Before this, Hobby Unit had been an all-men unit; now it is a women's unit. I came with the second group of women from Mountain View, in Gatesville, and buses keep coming several times a day. The TDCJ-ID plans to fill this prison to capacity: 12 dayrooms, or tanks, each with 84 women, total 1008 women here before the end of the month.

For men, Hobby was a minimum security unit, one fence only. For us, they have installed a second fence, so it is now a maximum security prison. Ostensibly because it was previously a men's prison, we are told it is a "real prison" instead of "a mickey mouse prison" (i.e. women's). We are subjected to all sorts of abuse round the clock, most noticeably verbally, mainly by male guards, who are the majority of guards here. They go out of their way to deride, downgrade, abuse and humiliate women. Including the women guards who generally appear subservient to men in a very noticeable way. That was hardly the case in Gatesville women's units. From the time we got out of the bus, we are called "bitches," "cunts," "put your shit there," "move your asses here," and so on. The coarse language, which is illegal according to TDCJ-ID employee guidelines, continues to this date and very openly so. In the dining room, clusters of male guards get together, while we eat, to tell all sorts of dirty jokes, being sure we hear every word that is said.

A white woman from Mt. View, Cathy "Cat" Oger, upon arrival protested this abusive "welcoming" language, and as a result some 5 or 6 male guards body-slammed her on the floor, then took her handcuffed to segregation and kept calling her "a bulldragging bitch" all the way to seg. I requested a "legal visit" to see "Cat" but was denied. On Sunday November 28, at about 2:45 pm, a tall white woman (I still haven't got her name) was forced to strip to her bra and thermal underwear pants in the middle of the inside yard, in view of everyone. Doing the strip search were two female guards, but with the yard being in open view from everywhere here, there were plenty of male guards looking on.

The incidents of abuses of this kind seem to go on and on.

By their own rules, TDCJ-ID guards must wear name tags on their uniforms; at any rate, if no name tag is worn, they are required to state their names, so if a guard abuses someone, administrative remedies ("grievances") can be sought. But most guards here not only refuse to wear name tags, but threaten disciplinary action or verbally abuse anyone asking for his or her name. So in the case of "Cat" Oger, or the woman strip-searched in public in the middle of the yard, it's virtually impossible to know who did it, since guards will deny they were even close during the incidents. Guards have told me, "I am running everything here, you have rules to follow: I don't." Which of course is not true: guards must follow very well-detailed rules established by the Ruiz federal court, and by TDCJ-ID rules. Besides, they are answerable to elected officials like every other State employee. But this attitude that "they are above the law" or "they are the law" is prevalent here, much more so than in the Gatesville units.

The showers, designed for male prisoners, only have very narrow doors, and are some 5 or 6 ft under the control cabin ("pipechase") where male guards, who are

always in the pipechase, can see the women's chests, with only a glass partition separating the showers from the pipechase. The only toilet we have in the dayroom is in plain view next to the glass partition, in the shower area with no partitions whatsoever. We have a toilet inside each cell (2 women per cell), but during "count" or weekends after 10:30 pm we can't get into our cells when we want, so we have to either go to the open toilet, or remain locked in our cells. It is illegal for male guards to watch women at the toilets. Even with the toilet in our cells, male guards come unannounced into the living area,

have visitors, and only if the visitor is nice enough to pay for them at a bargain \$3 to \$5 per cheap Polaroid); having the clothes we brought in taken, and issued instead crumpled, dirty, unbleached clothes which do not fit even remotely well; being woken several times at night, like the lights going on every 30 minutes or so (ostensibly to count us, but after 10:30 pm we are all locked up inside our cells, so what is so difficult about counting locked-up women???); male guards coming into our cells at night and waking us ostensibly to see our I.D. cards: it's virtually impossible to sleep at night here, on purpose: "sleep-



next to the cells, and can watch us use the toilets, or dressing or undressing, or sleeping. In fact, for the past few nights a male guard has invariably come inside my cell around 12 pm to wake me up on the pretense that he needs to see my ID. I have complained of all of this, but to no avail.

At Mt. View, because I worked outdoors (yard) I was issued thermal underwear, gloves and two good quality coats, by the State. Besides, I had my own crocheted hat and scarf which I could wear at work. We were not required to stay outdoors when the temperature was 42° F or below. Here I also work outside, but have not been issued thermal underwear or gloves (yes, I have requested them several times). I was given only one old and worn out coat which is very thin, and doesn't protect me from extreme cold. And unlike at Mt. View or at any of the Gatesville units, we have been required to work in freezing weather.

Besides work, we are forced to stand in l-o-n-g lines outside even in cold, windy weather, for anywhere from 15 minutes to more than half an hour at a time: to get clean clothes, to get medicine, at the mail room (postage for indigents or legal mail), to report to work, to return from work. But we are not allowed to wear winter hats or scarfs.

The abusive treatment and contemptuous attitude of guards here is the worst part, but not the only part. Little things like not being allowed to wear our bandanas on our head or shoulders (like women), but only inside our pockets (like men). My high-heel shoes were confiscated on arrival; we are not allowed skirts: this is a "real prison" so we must look and act like men! Not having blow-driers *at all*, or even one for every 40 women or so, like the Gatesville units do; Black women not having hot plates or curling irons to do their hair; not being allowed to cut our hair (my blunt paper scissors were taken away), even though, as of yet, there is no beauty shop; not having irons for our clothes even for visiting days; not being allowed to have our photos taken (except those of us who

lessness", which the U.S. charged the former USSR for practicing! A complete list of atrocities here would make this letter infinitely long.

The idea is to erode all of our self-esteem and humiliate us to the maximum.

The forced "sleeplessness" is very negative: on weekdays, "lights out" is at 10:30 pm at which time we are locked up inside our cells (except for a very few night workers, perhaps ten or fifteen women total). I must report to work at 7 a.m. and next week, if I am accepted for the Print Shop, at 6 am. but it's impossible to get to sleep before 1 am or even later: every 30 minutes, the lights inside our cells come on, ostensibly for count. Invariably between 12 pm and 1 am a guard, often a male guard, opens our cell door and comes in, wakes us up, and asks for our I.D. cards. In comparison, in Gatesville units, this is called a "special count" and is only done during normal hours, after there has been a large group of visitors from outside prison: to verify no one has escaped mingled up among the outside visitors; here it is done routinely, daily, for no discernible purpose other than to intentionally disrupt our sleep. Breakfast is called at 3 am: so we have less than 2 hours of sleep total before breakfast. If we choose to go to breakfast, then we sleep only one-and-a-half to 2 hours. Then after breakfast, guards begin speaking through very large loudspeakers, which make sleeping after breakfast also very difficult or impossible (sometimes, depending on which guard is there, they may spend the entire night, from 10:30 pm "lights out" until the first shift arrives at 6 am, speaking on the loudspeakers!). As I mentioned, this "sleeplessness" practice has been denounced by the U.S. government to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, and is acknowledged as a form of psychological torture: to willfully disrupt or interrupt a prisoner's sleep.

We can only hope to stop this by denouncing it and calling it to the attention of public officials, who will claim they know nothing about it (although they do),

but because of public opinion, will be forced to stop it. If you want to help, letters and phone calls in support are encouraged to:

1) Governor Ann Richards
State Capitol
Austin Texas 78711

Gov. Richards, (aka "Bloody Ann" after the many executions carried out under her tenure), has an 800 phone number

2) Attorney General Dan Morales
P.O. Box 12548,
Austin TX 78711

3) James A. Collins
Director TDCJ-ID
Huntsville TX 77340.

4) Warden James H. Byrd
TDCJ-ID Hobby Unit
Rt. 2 Box 600,
Marlin TX 76661.

5) United Nations Human Rights Commission
UN Plaza
New York NY

As well, contact women's rights and prisoners' rights groups and activists around the country.

We must stop this as soon as possible! TDCJ-ID are boasting that Hobby will be "the largest women's prison of its kind in the United States." Which means Hobby will be used as a "model" for other facilities of its kind around the country. ∞

Close it down!

In solidarity,

Ana Lucia Gelabert
#384484 Hobby C-2
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Marlin TX 76661

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Lucasville — an inside view

In 1990 Southern Ohio Correctional Facility (SOCF at Lucasville) warden Terry Morris was replaced by Arthur Tate Jr. Tate instituted a series of repressive actions at Lucasville. He promoted informing on guards and prisoners. Prisoners were fitted with "wires" (recording instruments) and sent at guards to entrap them in criminal activities. Flyers were printed up instituting a "snitch line" where prisoners and visitors could write to inform on criminal activities inside Lucasville. Guards and employees were fired or quit en masse due to being entrapped or accused of dealing dope or other activities.

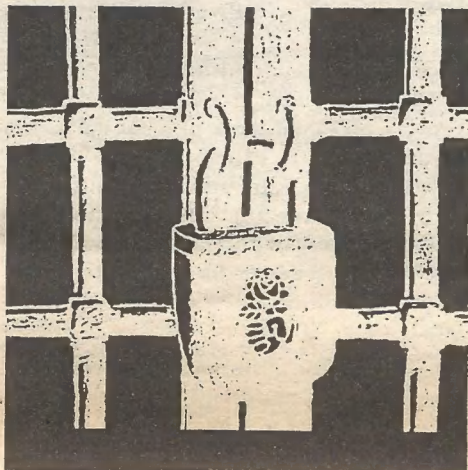
Prisoners were separated by security classifications — Max 4, Max 3 and Class 3 security, and had to have guard escorts to go anywhere outside of the cells. Max 4's were locked in the cells after 6 pm. Metal detectors were placed outside the day rooms, gym, hallways. "Wrong Rules" were made up on a daily basis and not put into writing or issued to prisoners, violating their right of due process which requires forewarning of any implemented rules and regulations. Guards implementing these rules often abused their authority causing more conflict. This led to a series of physical attacks on guards who harassed and demeaned prisoners. These same guards were involved in turn in the beating of prisoners — such is the way of life inside Lucasville. Warden Tate declared that all of the above implementations were to make Lucasville "safer" for those confined there. However, the stabbings and murders continued. Due to the violent atmosphere prisoners often joined together by neighborhoods, beliefs or common interests. Power plays abounded.

In 1993 an outbreak of tuberculosis hit prisons in New York. TB is rapidly spread in closed environments such as prisons, where large groups of people are warehoused together in close proximity. Due to the inadequate standard of medical care in prisons, common diseases become deadly. A prisoner with active TB, rather than being housed in a medical facility, was transferred from one prison to another. The department of health called for mandatory TB testing of all prisoners by syringe injection of the TB virus. The Muslims at Lucasville protested that the planned way of TB testing violated their religious tenets and asked for X-ray or alternative testing. Warden Tate refused and began a plan to lock down SOCF and institute TB testing using force. Since Tate had become warden at SOCF he had acted like a dictator—it was his way or no way at all. He left no room for any of the prisoners' legitimate complaints. He would talk to them, but always with the knowledge that at the end of the day it would be done his way.

There had already been tension between the Chapel and the Muslims. Lucasville is located in Southern Ohio, and the administration and guards are mostly rural Appalachians who are not accustomed to different races or religions. Lucasville employed a Chaplain Lewis, a baptist, who had control of the Chapel and religious groups. Chaplain Lewis had

openly, and with the approval of the administration, discriminated against and harassed Muslims. Christians were permitted organized religious programs but Muslims were not. Chaplain Lewis often put Muslims in the hole for minor infractions. This type of continuing discrimination and harassment created a dangerous tension. When word leaked out that within a week warden Tate planned to lock down the prison to carry out forced TB testing, it turned out to be the straw that broke the camel's back. Plans were made to rebel.

On Easter Sunday, April 11 '93, a fight was staged, the goon squad ran in to stop it and the take over began. As the prisoners attacked the goon squad they took control of the L side hallway and its keys, and also the guards working the cell blocks. Prisoners accused of or suspected of informing were stabbed and beaten; seven were killed at the onset, over forty-eight injured. Prisons state-wide were locked-down. At the onset, those who were due to



appear before the parole board, or for other reasons didn't wish to participate, went out into the yard and stayed out of the way. Cells were looted as were the Unit Manager's offices, where the files of all prisoners in that unit were stored. Prisoners' files were pulled and read by the rebels, and those labelled as informants were singled out for beatings and stabbings. Some prisoners were placed under "house arrest" for protection from further harm or due to being thought liable to attack those maintaining control.

The majority of the prisoners were placed out in the hallways, while squads of six to ten were placed inside the cell blocks to watch for SWAT team invasions. Toilets, sinks, light fixtures, cell doors, plumbing and electronic consoles were totally destroyed on L side, as well as windows. Some prisoners in K8 destroyed their cells. The state cut off all water and electricity. During the day electricity was put on, to be cut off at night. After prisoners had dismantled the large speakers in the gym, and made tape recorded broadcasts to the media through them, the media was forced to the opposite end of the prison so as not to hear what was being said. This was after the state had tried to drown out the broadcasts by flying low over the prison in helicopters. When this happened the prisoners had merely waited until the helicopters had passed, then started the tape over, which detailed the oppression they were subjected to inside the prison.

A medical MASH unit was set up inside the gym where those with injuries were treated. Minor surgery including stitches was administered by a prisoner paramedic.

Electricians wired up emergency lighting while the electricity was cut off, and holes were knocked through the foundations to obtain entrance to the tunnels (which were manned by Lucasville guards) and chaseways to gain access to the plumbing in an attempt to obtain water while it was cut off. There was a faucet with a small leak in the gym that was used to obtain small rations of water during the siege.

At night, prisoners would don masks and hoods to protect their identities, and assaults and rapes occurred until order was restored by factions inside.

Everyone involved in the riot all argued that it was the iron-fist rules of warden Tate's reign that caused such a drastic measure. And all that the riot was long overdue. Those not involved are angry for being punished by being locked down now even though they did not participate. A lot of the whites are angry at the so-called "Aryan Brotherhood" for not protecting the whites beaten and killed by the blacks during the riots. After the initial outburst of violence most of the acts committed were done by individuals not associated with any organized groups, who kept order during the siege.

Dehydration and hunger were the main antagonists during the siege. The state thought they could flush the rioters out by slow motion — but they starved the hostages too.

At their surrender, the last groups to come out were identified as Muslims, Aryan Brotherhood and Black Gangster Disciples — these last 129 men were taken straight to Mansfield Correctional Institution (MANCI) and placed in the Seg. Unit — unit S. They were classified as Security Control - Investigation Status. The cells were segregated and the men were harassed by MANCI guards in ways they are so good at. Tiny portions of food on their trays, no access to hygiene articles, pencils, pens, paper, law books or legal materials, visits denied. The prisoners were/are doubled-celled and allowed only two hours of recreation a week, mail is censored, withheld and often destroyed, they are denied sick call, seeing a physician or a psychiatrist or a psychologist.

They were summarily given Administrative Control (AC) level-three status for the reason: "you have been self-identified as a member of a gang who sometime during the riot had control of the hostages." This justifies keeping them on long-term isolation— but still doesn't justify double-celling them, denying them access to medical treatment, to legal resources or the hundreds of other harassments they are being subjected to.

The guards kept harassing the Muslims to the point where they couldn't get the food they were supposed to so they started beating on their doors. As a show of force, goon squad teams with shotguns came in, gassed the Pod then beat some of the Muslims after they had been handcuffed and shackled. Four were transferred back to Lucasville and Lebanon.

When men are placed into state warehouses, often unjustly, then treated like animals by guards and officials who break society's laws with impunity, in the name of law and order, what recourse do they have left? Liberals are quick to parrot that prisoners should redress injustices through the courts, but when this avenue is utilized they find themselves subjected to intense retaliation. In addition to this the courts take years to rule on prisoner petitions, and do so through the same injustice system that placed them in prison. This isn't a very logical response in the eyes of many prisoners. For many who have lived with violence out on the streets all their lives, and are subjected to the same violence perpetuated upon them by their keepers, seizing control of the situation is the most logical step, since all other avenues seem futile.

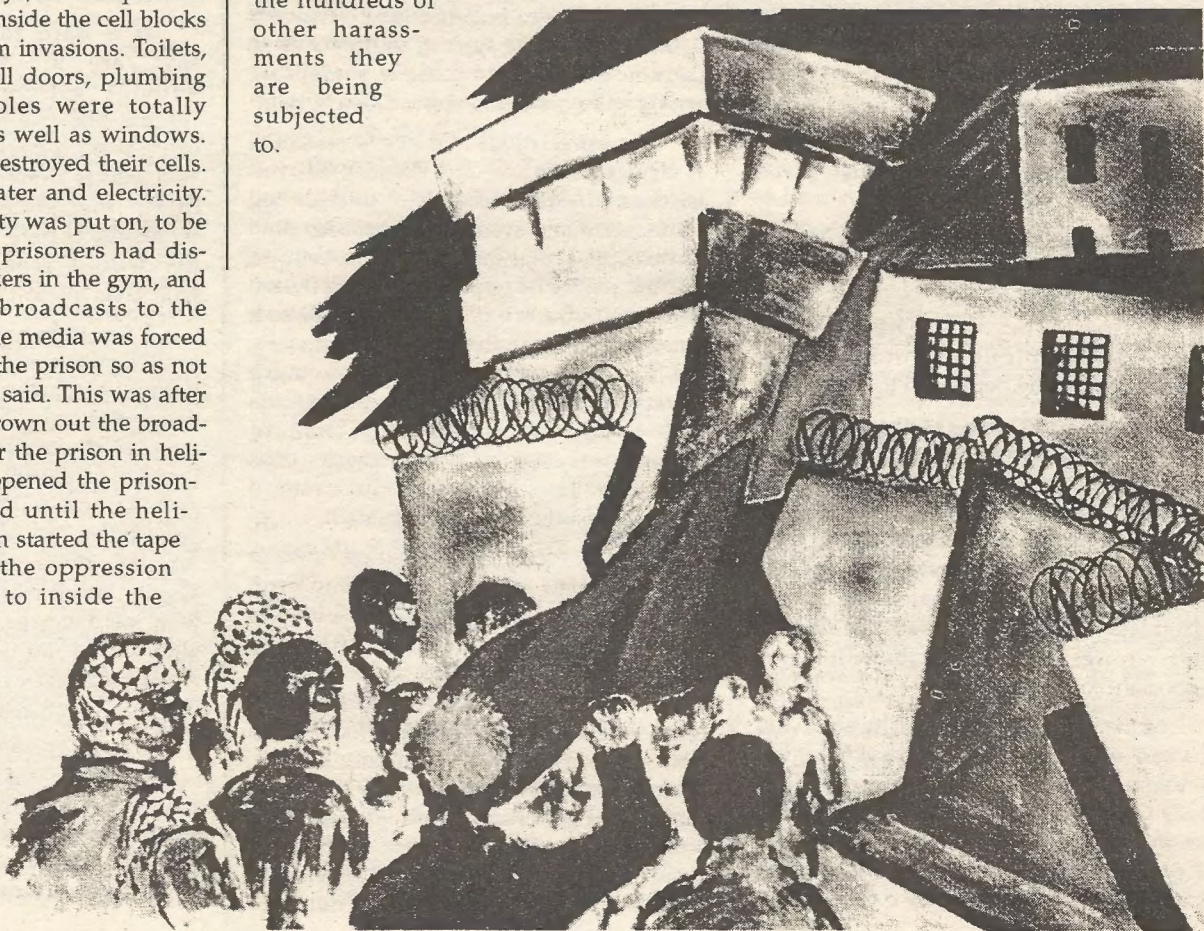
The state must not be permitted to criminalize the situation, as they are now trying to do. Rather than focusing on the factors that led up to the takeover, the state and media are focusing on the "crimes" committed during the siege, and calling for more security and money to build a Super Max prison.

Where is the left and the prison abolition movement now? We hear no voices out there speaking on behalf of those involved. The brothers at Lucasville held the prison longer than any like situation in history. Where is all the support for them? They put their lives on the line and deserve and require your support.

Indictments will be out soon. Anyone interested in volunteering for legal support committees, and well as defence committees, contact myself or: ∞

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Thoughts on the surrender of Kathy Power

This interview was conducted with Marilyn Buck, Political Prisoner, in response to the Newsweek article of September 1993 concerning Kathryn Power. The interview was for the Downtowner, a New York City weekly, December 1993.

(Kathy Power turned herself into the police, last fall, to face charges relating to the killing of a police officer during a bank robbery in 1971 which was to raise money for the political underground. Though no longer being actively sought, she had spent many years in clandestinity.)

Q: Why do you think Newsweek chose to do the story on Kathy Power at this time?

A: In a capitalist society, fame and recognition are commodities, usually with a very short sales life. The moment is exploited for all its worth; often times by the individual or institution in the spotlight, but all the time by the media, the illusion makers. They create the saints and the demons.

Captures, particularly surrenders, are moments of celebration for the state — a chance to affirm its power, despite its being disavowed or challenged. Imagine challenging the power of the biggest, baddest domestic and international military machine on the planet! How dare they, we, she ... me! To psychologize, and label such behavior as deviant is imperative. Never again does the state want to see an uncontrollable or unpredictable rise of different sectors of the population against its policies and programs, or its existence as such. The U.S. incessantly broadcast that the bombing of Iraq and the supposed national consensus supporting that manufactured military maneuver has laid to rest the infamy of the defeat in Vietnam. It has a pathological fear of decolonization and national self-determination. Standing in the '90s, the propaganda establishment seizes every opportunity to declare the '60s — that time of standing up for liberation, justice, self-determination, and against the status quo of white Amerikkka — dead, an aberration.

Kathy Power's surrender was perfect for spectacularization. Her surrender was a perfect vehicle to reinforce the "see-what-happens-when-you-stray-from-white-Amerikkka" line. This is not the first time sensational stories have hit the press about the radical returned to the fold. Most recently, there was an interview in the N.Y. Times, Living Section, with Bernadine Dohrn. There is a fascination with a woman who defied the system, who she is today; and a reassurance that she has been cured of "excessive opposition."

Q: How would you characterize Newsweek's political and ideological slant on the Power article and the accompanying piece by Jane Alpert?

A: Newsweek fulfilled its ideological and political role in how it presented this story: Woman-in-misery-because-of-her-political-past. They would have liked to have squeezed out an admission of remorse, but being depressed had to do.

I think it's interesting that the Newsweek article chose not to say anything substantial about her current political views. Is she still anti-racist, pro-Black liberation, against U.S. imperialism? Her statement upon surrender is not reported in this article. Perhaps because she did not capitulate in her earlier beliefs that the war was wrong, that Black Liberation was important to support?

Newsweek ignored what she said, and instead relied on a pseudo-psychological rendering — a focus on depression and the Betty Crocker lifestyle. (Of course, they forget to cite any statistics on the prevalence of clinical depression in white middle class women in their forties ...). By concentrating

on the past, the "moment" and the flight, as well as the reintegration into the safe white world, the media did not have to say a word about who Kathy Power is as a political person living in the world. Another reassurance to the readers. From reading Newsweek and other articles, I don't have much of a clue as to who she is socially or politically. My first response was, "oh, the prodigal son/daughter line."

If Kathy Power's depression doesn't provide an example of "divine punishment," then Jane's (Alpert) middle Amerikkkan nightmare should flesh it out — struggle against the system is a childish illusion, a romantic diversion that turns out not be such a lark after all. Jane's piece is intended to say "resistance doesn't pay," from one who can say she too challenged the state, but repented. Under the guise of feminism, Alpert continues to be quite a vocal mouthpiece for reconciliation with the system, patriarchal or not.

The actual intent of the Newsweek article, as well as the majority of the "establishment" media, is to continue to delegitimize resistance to U.S. imperialism and capitalism touted as democracy. Despite its inherent weaknesses, the U.S. has emerged more predatory, in the absence of any countervailing power. It is a warning... "Don't even try it."

Even the "Revisiting the Radicals" [segment], while stating the bare facts, is designed to say, "see, it is only a phase, you can't win!"

Q: Why do you think Newsweek uses a lot of psychological jargon in this spread?

A: Newsweek uses a psychological format to examine "objects" of its focus. Also to convince people they know what they are talking about.

The state is obsessed with trying to understand why white people would "drop out" or challenge the system. They won't admit that there is something seriously pathological in the system, so they seek to convince the public there is something wrong with those who oppose their system.

The expectations and heady sensation of change in the '60s and '70s may be overwhelmed by two decades of unrelenting conformism and systematic desensitization of political, social and moral consciences, but the reality of oppression, exploitation and social injustice is greater than ever. It will not disappear. Even now it is intolerable. Too much white supremacy, too much poverty, prisons and social repression, too little justice and too few jobs. The L.A. uprising was only one seismic shock to this structure. The demand for justice and national liberation has not subsided.

Here in the oppressor nation, there is still a segment of white youth who drop out, become anti-establishment punkers drawn to hip-hop and the rap of the besieged African-American youth, who are alienated and angry, sometimes not yet exactly sure why but squatting, looking for new forms of protest, examining history, asking questions and rejecting a history of racism and genocide; youth who are consciously, deliberately opposed to this system. There are still socialists, anarchists, anti-racists and anti-fascists. There are

1000's and 1000's of women, lesbians who refuse to go back. The potential for struggle within this oppressor nation has not been crushed or thrown into the wastebin of history.

Q: Are there any similarities between Kathy Power's life and yours?

A: I am a woman who lived a number of years in clandestinity. There are of course some similarities in our lives — being white, from the middle classes, having become political activists in the '60s against the war in Vietnam, and for Black liberation; and we both lived lives underground. For myself, I also know that becoming a politically active woman was not an overnight experi-

ence, that I was not misled by some charismatic character. It was a thoughtful process, an examination of what the nature of this system is, of my own role both as object and, more importantly, as subject to fight the oppression. I do not know Ms. Power's history of politicization, but I definitely mistrust the media's reductionist scenario of girl-meets-convict-and-is-manipulated.

I think the differences between our lives are more important. I did not feel it necessary to divorce myself from political struggle to survive; and I did not surrender. I was captured — imprisoned without negotiation. There were no peace talks, no offers of plea.

Living underground is not a romantic endeavor or diversion, as Jane Alpert must have initially imagined it to be. It is difficult and personally heart-wrenching to be separated from one's family, friends and one's political cohorts. And yet people all over the world who have to struggle for survival and against grinding, brutal oppression lead lives of value, of resistance, no matter the deaths, the separations they endure. Being underground is not about escaping a life not liked or not fulfilling. Who one is does not rest on one's name or birthdate, but rather on how one lives and acts.

It is hard to say very much without getting specific, and that I can not do. I suspect that is something the state repressive apparatus would read with great interest.

I remember a conversation I had with a comrade a number of years ago, at the time Bernadine Dohrn and her now-husband Bill Ayers negotiated their own surrenders. The comrade, sadly, and a bit angrily, stated that there was not one of us who were engaged in liberation struggle who would not wish to be home, but in Amerikkka not everyone can do that and live safely, secure from attack. I think that is true.

Certainly, it is much more possible for white people than for people from oppressed nations to do so. I think of the FMLN comrades who have been assassinated after returning to public life from

clandestinity, after all the agreements and international assurances. I wonder how many more will die at the hands of the death squads; Salvadoran society is still not safe for revolutionaries and militants who advocate for social justice, nor for the everyday working woman, man or child.

Being white gives one privilege, so the possibilities that exist to surrender are much greater. In this last decade many white people have retreated, either injured to the escalating racism and socioeconomic oppression, feeling they have done all they can, are not to blame, or are frightened at the possible consequences. Ms. Power retired into the sanctuary of white Amerikkka. By that I mean that she, as a white woman, had the privilege of escaping notice by retiring into the expected "normal" white life. She did not have to fear being stopped by the police merely because she looked like a "suspicious person." White people are not suspicious! Only if one acts suspicious, refuses to conform. Certainly, in the first period of flight, there was danger because Ms. Power was suspicious; she was hunted. The full weight of the repressive apparatus had been unleashed; radical white women were under attack for having possibly supported her and Susan Saxe. However, after the threats and intimidation did not work in a number of radical women's communities because of a refusal to collaborate with grand juries, the relentless hunt was thwarted, and the danger diminished. The state was not prepared to terrorize white Amerikkka to capture Ms. Power, certainly not to the degree it did hunting Angela Davis or Assata Shakur in Black Amerikkka. Once Ms. Power established a conforming identity she was relatively safe. But feeling safe and being safe are not always the same thing. One can be safe and not feel that. Conversely, one may feel relatively secure, believing that one has not betrayed oneself or been betrayed, and not be safe.

I can say this because I too was hunted. After the initial fear of being the fox before the hounds subsided, I found that it was relatively easy to be an unassuming, unnoticed white woman. It was assumed that I was part of the white social consensus. My social credit was good. More than once, police even rushed to my aid ... unrequested. The same police might then rush off to snarl at someone Black or Latino ... ready to shoot to kill. I was also able to continue being a political person. It did not stop me from challenging racism, or working in social programs. Not until I was discovered to be that traitor to the capitalist white supremacist consensus. Then my white skin lost its American Express credibility. The state's agents went haywire. And



here I am with a total of 80 years.

Q: Why are neither you nor Linda Evans in the radical gallery sidebar. [A short companion piece to the main article.]

A: With the exception of Kathy Boudin, none of the more than 100 political prisoners and POWs are mentioned in the "Revisiting the Radicals" sidebar. None of us have surrendered or repented. Ms. Boudin had been spectacularized in 1970 after the explosion of a town house in the Village, so she was "revisited." Very few of

continued on next page

Little Rock Reed, At Large

January 9, 1994. With regard to my current situation, I want to give you an update... This past week I was finally able to get a *pro se* petition for writ of *habeas corpus* filed in conjunction with an appeal of the conviction for "terroristic threatening" in the Kentucky case. The reason I couldn't file anything with the court of appeals until now (more than six months after the "trial") is because the trial court clerk refused to provide me with a copy of the trial record until a month ago. (As you'll recall, I was tried in absentia.) Here's what I learned about the trial now that I've got a copy of the record:

Steve Devoto's 5-year-old daughter and his wife both testified that Devoto threatened to blow my head off. Devoto testified that his wife and daughter were lying, but admitted that he didn't want his family associated with me or the Native American Prisoners' Rehabilitation Research Project (NAPRRP), and that pressing these charges against me for allegedly threatening him would serve the purpose of getting me out of his family's life since my parole in Ohio would be revoked. He also testified that he never had contact with the Ohio Parole Authority, and this testimony was never challenged by my pro bono attorney (who I assume was paid off by someone in one way or another).

Prior to the trial, my attorney and several other people submitted a petition to the Ohio governor on my behalf which included evidence that Steve Devoto had contacted the Ohio Parole Authority and admitted that his charges against me were false—so the Parole Authority knew his charges to be false before they issued the warrant for my arrest as a result of his charges. The petition to the Ohio governor also included evidence that a couple days after Devoto informed the Parole Authority that his charges were false, he was served a summons and my cross-complaint against him, which prompted him to retain an attorney who advised him to proceed with his false charges against me because that would be his best defense strategy. The attorney had the Parole Authority issue a warrant for my arrest knowing that if I was returned to prison in Ohio, I couldn't be extradited to Kentucky to stand trial or to testify against Devoto on a misdemeanor charge. Simply put, I would never have a day in court if I went back to prison on a parole revocation, and Devoto's plan to get me out of his family's life would come to pass. This was the only legal defense strategy that could have worked for Devoto (as his attorney realized) since three witnesses were prepared to testify against him and for me.

And the whole conspiracy was a gem to the Ohio Parole Authority. Some of the other evidence presented to the Ohio governor indicated that my parole officer had stated to various witnesses, including a Villa Hills, Kentucky city councilwoman and a news reporter, that prison officials and the Ohio Parole Authority wanted me back in prison so that they could force me to stop talking about their crimes against prisoners. He apparently told Steve Devoto's wife that the Parole Board was going to use Devoto's charges against me—no matter how false they were—to achieve their goal of silencing my voice, and that they intended to keep me in prison for fifteen more years.

My attorney failed to present any of this evidence at my trial in the Kentucky case, as well as a lot of other evidence of conspiracy that I won't bother you with, although it was all presented in the petition he and others submitted to the Ohio governor on my behalf prior to the Kentucky trial. In that petition, the governor was urged to grant me clemency and/or pardon because there's no way I can get a fair hearing before the Ohio Parole Authority (in the past, the chairman of the Parole Board had been foolish enough to admit, in writing, that I was being held in prison solely because I had a habit of asserting my constitutional rights).

Notwithstanding all of this evidence, the Ohio governor forwarded the petition to the chairman of the parole board and stated that he wouldn't consider the petition unless the parole board recommended that he do so. And the parole board chairman wrote back to the petitioners stating that it would be "inappropriate" for the board to consider the petition until after I am in their custody (needless to say, I have no intention of "giving" them custody of me).

I seriously doubt that my Kentucky conviction will be overturned because every court proceeding I've ever witnessed in this country has been a farce, except for the ones on television. But even if it is overturned, the Ohio Parole Authority will insist that I be re-imprisoned — and the Parole Board *does* have the unfettered power to do as it pleases. The Parole Board is held accountable to *no one*.

I can't file a lawsuit against the Parole Authority because to do so I would have to make myself available for depositions, which means turning myself in. That's out of the question. The only person in Ohio with the power to help me is the governor, but he refuses to do anything not recommended by the Parole Board. I have writ-

ten to the U.S. Attorney-General's office and the U.S. Department of Justice and to the U.S. President, but they say they are unable to intervene in the matter because to do so would violate the State of Ohio's sovereign rights. Meanwhile, attorneys have contacted the Ohio legislature, but the legislature refuses to consider any bill which would make the Parole Board accountable for its actions.

So what do I do from here? Actually, international law vests me with the authority to defend myself against the Ohio government's unlawful actions against me by whatever means I believe to be necessary, even if it means killing any cop or other government agent that attempts to apprehend me pursuant to the outstanding warrant issued by the Parole Board. But that particular international law is in conflict with the laws written in my heart by the Creator—and the Creator is my *only* authority. As I remain underground, I do what I can for my people, and for humanity and the earth in general. If they ever apprehend me, I will continue to do so.

I know the parole board and prison officials who want me in their custody will read this, so to them I say this: You kept me

there because I kept my dignity and self-respect by refusing to stop speaking out about your crimes. And it is your wish that your warrant for my arrest will silence my voice. That's because you don't know or understand me or my dedication, because you've never been dedicated to anything. I will continue to talk about your crimes and to write about your crimes against humanity. And if you apprehend me, I will continue to speak and to write about your deeds — even if I must do so from your "control unit," because God is the only one who can control me. And if you kill me, I will continue to speak and to write about your atrocities, because my spirit will always live. You will never conquer me. And you will never take my freedom, because my freedom is my dignity, honor and self-respect. But how could you know? You've never been free. That's why you hate me. But I love you, because you're my relations. There can be no good without there also being evil. If you weren't you, I couldn't be me. And you should get down on your knees and thank the Creator for being a merciful and forgiving One.

In Solidarity,

Little Rock Reed



Arrows to Freedom Newsletter

Kathy Power *from page 6*

those of us now in prison were marketed by the media as "fame" commodities. We are buried as much as possible. Those political prisoners and POWs, such as Leonard Peltier or Geronimo jifaga Pratt who are becoming better known, were not propelled by the press into "fame." Rather, it has been through the struggle of many people to bring attention to the reality that both these comrades were framed by the COINTELPRO agencies, have been denied new trials, release, even in the face of concrete evidence, that they are known. Mumia Abu Jamal, a former Black Panther, MOVE supporter and a journalist, sits on death row in Pennsylvania, framed by the state. He's an established journalist, but neither *Newsweek* journalists, nor others in the establishment media have yet, in more than 10 years, written an investigative piece about the fact that the government is marching him to the death chamber!

Newsweek did not write articles about the Tribunal held in New York in 1991, in which charges were brought against the

United States for its treatment and continuing detention of the political prisoners and POWs from the New Afrikan and Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, Hawaiian and Mexican national liberation movements, and the anti-imperialist and peace/anti-war movements. No establishment press wrote a major article on the 1992 Tribunal charging the U.S. with the genocide of Native Americans, the enslavement of Africans and the colonization of North America and the Caribbean, held in San Francisco on the 500th anniversary of the European invasion of the Americas.

Political prisoners are definitely not in fashion. The same people that want us silenced, that continue to exact vengeance, certainly would not encourage its publicists and propagandists to bring any attention it can avoid as to who we are and why we are.

Q: Has the Clinton administration dealt adequately with issues of political prisoners in the 1990s, from your point of view?

A: No. Even those with the most clear cut cases are being denied under this new administration. Comrades like the New

York 3 — Nuh Washington, Herman Bell and Jalil Muntaqin — have had legal efforts unjustly denied, even though the government misconduct was flagrant — disappearing evidence which would have undermined the state's court case. Silvia Baraldini, an Italian citizen, has repeatedly been denied repatriation to serve her sentence in her homeland; each time the Italian government has requested her transfer, the Justice Department has refused because she refuses to "cooperate"; that is, to disavow her political views as an anti-imperialist. There has been no attempt to resolve the demands for the release of the Puerto Rican POWs and political prisoners, or decolonization.

Sundiata Acoli was refused parole this year, after more than 20 years in prison! Those comrades who have been released were released because there were no other legal ways to keep them locked up. They were denied going to half-way houses, at a time when the Federal Bureau of Prisons has been trying to send more people to half-way houses. Because they are "a danger to the community!" Teachers, writers, productive human beings ... a danger?

Most other nations at some point in time have come to terms with political movements that have opposed or do oppose the state. Political prisoners have been released and given amnesty all over the world by state apparatuses that had reveled in brutality and torture. But nothing has changed in the U.S.

Every one of us comes out of a movement that struggles for liberation, social justice and human dignity. Supporting us is a part of supporting these movements. Until the movements challenging U.S. state power regain strength and momentum, until there is a powerful voice raised by you who are concerned with human rights and justice, I do not think the government, no matter who is in the White House, will make any qualitative moves in the direction of justice. ∞

Free all political prisoners and POWs!

Write:

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Language, identity and liberation: a critique of the term and concept "people of color"

A week ago I read "To whom it may concern: 'a few thoughts on racialism'" by Abd al Bari in the November/December 1993 PNS. I think it is one of the best articles I have read so far in PNS and one of the best anywhere about the racial question in prison. Notwithstanding the ideological and world view difference I might have with the author, in general I agree with most of his analysis and consider it very sharp and illuminating. As a result of my reading, I thought that my article on the concept "people of color" could offer other angles of the general problematic of identity, the specific category of race, and the relation with language and discourse. I present it with hopes that it could contribute to the debate.

Any critical discussion on the question of identity must remind us that the process of liberation is not only a process of self-determination. This internal process is valid and important in and of itself, but when it is present in the political/ideological struggle for liberation, it becomes crucial and qualitatively determinant.

Perhaps from a perspective of the excluded (*los excluidos*) and their "experience with the law," it would be beneficial to us all to comment on the implications of the term/concept "people of color." At issue in this case is their experience with the authority, "the law" of the "dominant language" and discourse. This is an experience that also reminds us of the complex relationship between tongue,¹ language, discourse and ideology².

In this essay, I use the term *language* in a broad sense. I do not conceive of it as a mere political-direct instrumentality of as an "object of study" that belongs exclusively to linguistics or any other academic discipline. Language must be something alive — not a closed (dead) system of signs. It is not equivalent to ideology either. But even when tongue and language in themselves do not belong to a specific class or sector of society, these classes or sectors — through oral and written discourse — affect such matters as rhythm, meaning, terminology, function or decisions on what is "correct" or "incorrect," "derogatory" or "affirmative."

When I talk about "the language of Power" or "dominant language," I do so in a rather metaphorical, non-linguistic sense; in the sense of what Power reveals to us through its various discourses. On the other hand, "the power of language" can either unveil to us or hide from us that relationship that exists between ideological or linguistic sign and the real. We can either feel language as a prison or as liberation, or we can recognize that both aspects of lan-

We can either feel language as a prison or as liberation, or we can recognize that both aspects of language are dialectically inseparable.

guage are dialectically inseparable. We, the periphery and excluded³ from dominant culture, must resort to the power of language and discourse — but in the most creative and radical way.

The power to name or to be named is also a part of the class and ideological struggle. The former is, of course, a highly political act, but as in any politics the power of decision is not to be located in language itself but in the people who use that language through their discourses. It is, then, in the collective and individual subject and through the multiplicity of discourses that class and ideological struggle takes place. Though this struggle between signs and discourses has a very abstract nature, it also has a very concrete side when it deals with one's collective or individual identity or self-esteem.

It is no surprise then that any attempt to reconceptualize any old/new aspects of our reality, or to criticize/problematize those "deep-rooted" class or individual prejudices that pass often as unquestioned scientific truths or laws, will meet the most

hostile resistance not only from dominant ideology but from our own ranks as well. This "intolerance" for difference in our own ranks is many times unconscious. That is, it is so internalized that we often do not realize how much we reproduce dominant processes of ideology among ourselves. We function, therefore, like terminals in a circulatory system of values, beliefs, representations sent to us through all kinds of signs and electronic/synthetic images. It is thus the task of a radical discourse to always (the struggle never ends) make these contradictions visible in order to resolve antagonisms or to achieve a harmonious non-antag-

onistic co-existence among equals but with the right to be different, the right to alteration and dissent.

However, difference can become a superficial pose, an opportunistic way of taking advantage of one's "accidental" features when there is no danger and when conditions are in one's favor. The exploitation of one's race, nationality, gender or culture for personal (moral or material) profit and prestige — this is difference as mere status, difference for difference's sake.

In this dialectic of difference/sameness within our ranks, sometimes one aspect demands the sacrifices of the other. That is to say, individuality is sacrificed for collectivity, or vice versa. Ideologism, which is the reduction of everything to ideology, demands one or the other. For example, if my discourse becomes problematic and "difficult" among my ranks (my "equals", my "peers") I might become suspect, stigmatized, alienated. In order to correct this "deviation" one has to adjust to the limits of collectivity even when one might be ready to transcend those limits. Further, this means that liberation (or freedom) stop where the dominant conception of "liberation" within my ranks stops. The same thing can be said about any dominated group or "minority" in relation to the society (system) of which it forms part. Somehow, this process is a "mimic," a duplication of the process of consensus of dominant ideology, but it is always — here and there — the powerless subject who suffers.

When a discourse springs from this lack of power and abundance of pain, this discourse can end up in plain personal or ideological resentment. But also, in the measure of its ethical and political commitment, and its significance, it can become a discourse of liberation *in spite of* the limits of tongue, language and ideology. When passion and concept find their dynamic unity there is a possibility that a discourse might be able to express that which language itself can't express; or that which the thinking of a certain moment has not yet been able to think.

Bearing this challenge and risk in mind, I approach critically the term/concept "people of color" as it is currently used in the United States. In the U.S., dominant values, beliefs and representations of reality (i.e. ideology) are those of the capitalist class, which along with the majority of the U.S. population,⁴ is composed almost exclusively of the so-called "white" race. The rest of the population, the so-called "minorities," are referred to as "non-whites." Only when matters get complicated, or there are some political interests involved, do the dominant agencies divide and subdivide "racial groups" to the absurd. Sometimes it is difficult — if not impossible — to know to which group one belongs.

The single most important feature used to classify people in the U.S. is "color." People are classified by the "color" of their skin: Black, Brown, Red, Yellow, etc. This is axiomatic, you may think, because we all know this. But having this knowledge has not made any difference in how the excluded ones and radical/progressive people approach the question of identity and race most of the time. This approach never moves beyond the "color/skin" fixation. This fixation has a long tradition, and therefore, is difficult to break away from, to the point that most terms used to generalize the amalgam of "minorities" within the U.S. only reflect their dependence on dominant ideology. As a result, the evolution of the old term "colored people" to the "new" term "people of color" remains with the "color/skin" perspective. It seems to me, though, that before, "colored people" referred mostly to "black" people; today "people of color"

refers to all those who do not belong to the "white" race. Still, this "new" form of the concept can neither indicate the new content within it (all the "minorities" in the U.S.) nor the "old" term ("colored people") simply because the new content overflows the form of this reworded term/concept. Why? Because within the Third World "minorities" in the U.S., the racial spectrum (or "color" spectrum) includes all races and their mixtures, all "colors," "shades," and "tones," including "white" and "black" as "colors."

In this sense, "people of color" is a provincial term. Not just because it is only used within the U.S.⁵ but because it could only have come into being in a society like



this. First because "race" is still looked at from a puritan Anglo-Saxon point of view: "blood purity" is fetishized and "mixing is taboo."⁶ And second, because the U.S. is a modern Rome, it is the imperial(ist) center where all kinds of displaced peoples (from this hemisphere and other continents) usually end up. (It is obvious that this is due not to a magical attraction, but to a fatal one.) So, for better or worse, it is here where the meeting of all racial, cultural, ethnic and national groups takes place under the most antagonistic and ironic of ways. This reunion of "differences" in relation to the mainstream demands a new analysis and re-conceptualization of the relations of forces. It also demands an effective economy of words, terms that can provide an easier way of grasping this new agglomeration of peculiarities and similarities. Hence, the "color/skin" fixation which is part of the ideological circulatory system (which affects *all of us*) "nationalizes" this otherwise extranational phenomenon.

This provincial term — captive by dominant ideology — reduces this phenomenon to only one of its components: that of "race". It does not have the same political immediacy and sense of other terms like "racial" or "national minorities," "oppressed minorities" and "Third World people," which emerged in times of more militancy.⁷



For one, this term "people of color" has this fastidious "picturesque" element so familiar to the vocabulary of tourism. It sounds like a color Polaroid photograph of "nice" and "cute" people; innocent, inoffensive and domesticated people, where everyone is homogenized with this attribute of color. And who is this photographer who has so carefully taken this picture? A "white" tourist with "good intentions?" Or, in fact, is no one to be blamed but ideology itself?

Furthermore, though it may seem inappropriate in this essay to use the term *color* out of this racial context, this might be helpful in order to unveil this intrinsic relationship between *concept* and *term*, and how, for example, terms like "people of color" unconsciously reinforce prejudice and distorted concepts to classify people.

Rigorously speaking, color is something that depends on light. Indeed, color itself is within light. It exists and it does not exist. Can we say the same thing about races? One thing is for sure: for most important matters, we do not exist for mainstream society unless it is in the form of a political token, a marketing product or domesticated folklorization. Puerto Ricans only exist as "people of color" to Anglo-America. Black is only that which proves whiteness. And all dominated racial and national groups exist first of all as "color" not as people. On the other hand, it seems that the important question is not even color *per se* but *where* color is located. That is, if "yellow" located in the hair, it is good, very good; but if it is located in the skin, then it is not as good.

But what if we use instead the term "colorless people" to express our concept of the "white dominant class? I fear that this term would be considered "reverse racist" or "anti-white." So a better solution would be to say that all peoples are "people of color," that there are no colorless people. In such a case, "color" is neither a privilege nor a stigma, but a commonality.

Let us consider another perspective. While "people of color" could be used with good or bad intentions, and it could also be transformed from derogatory to affirmative, as other terms have been, whose original intention was insult, epithet, etc. (e.g. mulatto, Black, Chicano),⁸ it is also true that we cannot advance our process of liberation (today we are more self-conscious that previous generations about the importance of names, about who exerts the power to name and why) if we do not simultaneously liberate our thought and our praxis from those terms that have ceased to truly articulate or describe our situation and understanding of our historical, cultural and quotidian reality.

It is very self-defeating, both in the short and in the long term, to depend on these masters' "original" terms. We must be *original* too, but in the true sense. Our capacity to survive, resist and finally win depends on our capacity to be *inventive*. Originality is not to be understood exclusively as a mode, fashion or "the new." It is also *the necessary*.

Our dependence on our "masters'" terminology has ontological implications. The term "people of color" has a dependent idiomatic discharge, i.e., its identify, its meaning, depends on another referent: "white" people. And within this context, "white" becomes a code word for "superior" or "original." We may resolve to explain this as the nature of things when it comes to the human condition, but what we may not realize is that by perpetuating the use of such terms we are ironically reinforcing the other term, "whiteness." We are saying: my race, my nationality, my identity, my being, can only be defined in relation to the "white" race. My "racial" being is a gift from the other, the master. So in the same way that I am a creature of social relations and the relations between ideological and linguistic signs, I am also a creature of the dominant racial vision.

Thus, if we want to transform the pre-

dominant relations and world visions, we must also transform this creature condition, this reduction of people to "color." We must become *creators*, and cease to be subjected to the other's fantasies and myths. We must become the *dreamers* and cease to be the dreamed ones, because in fact transformation is a question not of "color" but of *vision* and *sensibility*, both how we *see* and *feel* the world. It is our (political, philosophical, ethical, aesthetic) vision/sensibility searching for its realization.

If we understand that the aspect of "color" is the aspect imposed by the dominant vision to classify and identify people, and we emphasize instead the cultural-social-economic-political aspects, which are

We, the periphery and excluded from dominant culture, must resort to the power of language and discourse — but in the most creative and radical way.

the real vectors conditioning our views on identity and race, what we are saying is that we are forming a different criterion that can better grasp our similarities but that can also simultaneously maintain our differences. A criterion that needs and wants to "exorcise" itself from the old criterion; a criterion that will make us recognize the objective, concrete fact that we are now beyond "color/skin" aberrations. This will be a criterion that unequivocally points toward the roots of the problem: that Third World people are discriminated against not only in terms of race, but also class, gender, culture and nationality. Besides, when it comes to exclusion, hate, humiliation, etc., of "minority" groups in the U.S., the dominant class, its institutions and repressive apparatuses do not "discriminate".

For all these reasons, we must rethink this term/concept "people of color" if we want to overcome this subjection to mummified language. The quality of our political action is determined by the quality of our political vision and sensibility. To *politicize* our concepts and terms inherited from the past, we must correct them with the notions obtained through our irreducible experience of reality and the political/social praxes. Of course, we can only do this if we recognize that it is necessary, not in order to please ourselves with "new" morphologies or plastic surgeries trying to merely resolve real contradictions through the means of language, but to make of language a force capable of infusing energy and blood into our discourse and movement.

The codes and language of Power, which otherwise want to conquer my heart and yours, must be defetishized by a language and discourse of liberation. That is, we must do a lot of scrapping, scratching and scrapping to do away with this incantation.

To construct or reconstruct our identity in terms of difference we do not have to keep resorting to such innocent and picturesque terms like "people of color." It is preferable, in my opinion, to use the

term "Third World people" or "the excluded." We are in fact quasi-phantasmagorical people reaching for our political being, in spite of "color" and independently of nationality. Different, not because of superficial features deeply rooted in the dominant classes' prejudices, but because we have a *different experience* of reality. ∞

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Footnotes

1. A specific language, such as English or Spanish, as compared to language as a general system of signs.

2. Meschonnic, *El lenguaje, el poder*, 6 Cuadernos de Poetica (Santo Domingo, 1985); Meschonnic, *El marxismo excluido del lenguaje*, 7 Cuadernos de Poetica (Santo Domingo, 1985).

3. In "negative" terms, not only those who form part of colonial and ex-, neo-, post-colonial histories in relation to European colonial powers and United States imperialism a.k.a. First World, Occidental culture/civilization; but today, also those Third World peoples living in the First World ("internal colonies"), and those groups or individuals who because of race, nationality, culture, gender, sexual preferences or/and ethical, political, artistic or ideological positions find themselves "exiled" from mainstream society and culture.

4. Recent studies estimate that at the beginning of the twenty-first century the "minorities" within the U.S. will become the "majority".

5. In Puerto Rico, "people of color" refers, euphemistically, to a person whose dominant facial features are "black"-African (Western and Central Africa). This euphemism is characteristic of our "psychological" form of racial prejudice, used by many instead of "negro" to avoid "offense", though, paradoxically, in Puerto Rico as in other Latin American countries, "negro" also means "dear" and "loved one." It would be interesting to find out the origin of "persona de color" in Puerto Rico, though I am almost certain it came about under U.S. colonial domination.

6. Compared to the Anglo-Saxons and other North European colonizers the Spanish colonizers had a different "attitude" toward the mixing between the races. The roots of these different

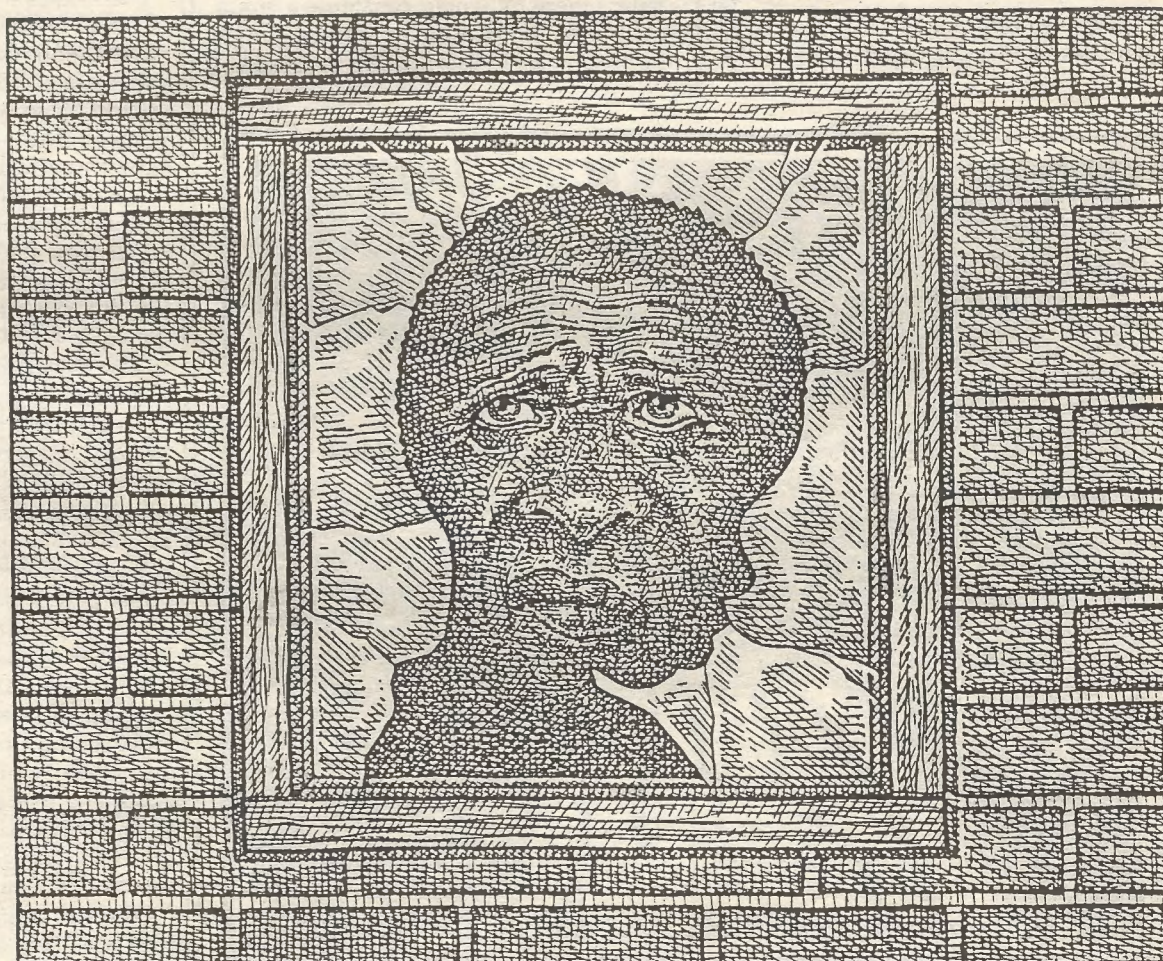


racial/color/skin attitudes can be found in the different historical development of these European peoples prior to the colonization period of the Western Hemisphere, i.e. prior to the fifteenth century.

This is not to say that the Spanish attitude toward race and race mixing was "better." It was different. Maybe more "flexible," subtle, hypocritical, and psychological, and therefore less visible; but the fact remains that the new socio-economic-political orientations and ideologies brought by all European colonizers were the beginning of developed "anachronistic" slavery, and later on, of ideological and structural racism in this hemisphere.

7. The term/concept "Third World" seems to have developed from the term "the third front," used by communists to refer to colonial countries in relation to the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

8. One way of dealing with this is *irony*, especially in literature, but also in the way an essay makes use of humor to ironize or ridicule terms, concepts, values, beliefs, etc. that mis-represent others. By doing this we make of the epithet a "boomerang" or make *the namer* look at it in a mirror as his/her own projection. Nevertheless, this is a weapon to dismantle. As far as I can tell, "people of color" is not used in an ironic way. Nor is its intention "metaphorical," but, to the contrary, it is a very *literal* term/concept rooted in the way dominant ideology in the U.S. perceives and understands "racial identity." Finally, and more importantly, even when this term is not used in an ironic way, it paradoxically becomes ironic in the sense that we ourselves help to reinforce what palpitates behind it.



A new act for prisons and parole in Canada

As of November 1, 1992 the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* governs federal prisons and parole in Canada. The Act is practical and progressive. It relies heavily on the concept of reintegration in directing the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) and the National Parole Board (NPB). Having spent the last 16 years in Canada's federal penitentiaries, I see the Act as a welcome milestone in the evolution of prison management in this country. What follows is commentary on the Act and related matters.

I qualify my assessment of the Act as practical and progressive here at the outset by saying the Act is yet better described as having the potential to bring forth positive change, than as having done so already. This qualification is important, because Canadians in federal detention generally expend little energy in pursuing collective interests and because this may remain so, despite the opportunities the Act creates for them. Further, current prison managers developed their work habits in a more authoritarian work environment than the one prescribed by the Act, and one expects they will be slow to change those habits. The same can be said about many of the CSC's front line staff members. A pessimist might think the apathy of prisoners and the authoritarian approach of current managers will combine to rob the Act of its potential. Being an optimist, I think otherwise.

An appreciation of the Act's potential begins with understanding the concept of reintegration and its embodiment in the Act. With very few exceptions, all Canadians in federal detention will be released at some point. Given this, the most practical purpose the CSC can have is that of assisting people in its keep in preparing to reside outside free of crime. And, in fact, section 3 of the Act states:

The purpose of the federal correctional system is to contribute to the maintenance of a just, peaceful and safe society by

(a) carrying out sentences imposed by courts through the safe and humane custody and supervision of offenders; and

(b) assisting the rehabilitation of offenders and their reintegration into the community as law-abiding citizens through the provision of programs in penitentiaries and in the community.

Before examining the key provision that relates reintegration specifically to the

management of individuals under sentence and in order to keep the progressive as well as the practical nature of the Act in mind, I point out that the Act directs both the CSC and the NPB to use the "least restrictive" means available to them. In Part 1 of the Act, which deals with corrections, section 4 provides ten principles "that shall guide the Service (CSC) in achieving the purpose referred to in section 3 above. Two of these are of interest here. They are:

(d) that the Service use the least restrictive measures consistent with the protection of the public, staff members and offenders; [and]

(e) that offenders retain the rights and privileges of all members of society, except those...that are necessarily removed or restricted as a consequence of the sentence.

Conditional release

Part 11 of the Act, which deals with conditional release (read: parole), contains a guiding principle similar to (d) above.

Prisoners will have to rely on the courts, if they expect to benefit much from these provisions. And I believe one ought to accept this as natural, because one knows relations between keepers and those in their care and custody contains an inherent imbalance of power and because one ought to know that this imbalance of power is improperly exploited, more often than not as a matter of convenience; sometimes out of malice. It follows that those who abuse their power as a matter of course will resist complying with provisions meant to curtail such abuse. If one accepts this at face value, one better understands why an apathetic prison population will realize only a portion of what the Act promises.

A look at section 74 provides the opportunity to detail a recent exploration of the Act by the inmate committee of the prison I am in. 74 reads:

The Service shall provide inmates with the opportunity to contribute to decisions of the Service affecting the inmate population as a whole, or affecting a group within the population, excepting decisions relating to security matters.

Since all CSC decisions relate, at least indirectly, to security matters, one assumes the CSC could, in complying with this section, exempt only those decisions where doing otherwise would constitute a *breach* of security. To date the administration of the prison I am in has virtually ignored sec-

tion 74. Our Inmate Committee recently asked for a copy of the "Master Development Plan" for the prison, because the allocation of space within the prison become a matter of concern to the population and because whenever the Committee broached the subject and made suggestions, it was told the allocation of space was being dictated by considerations arising from the Master Development Plan. When the Committee asked to see the plan, the Warden responded by saying a copy would be provided when the plan was completed. The Committee rejoined that it would then be too late to contribute to decisions affecting the plan and since the plan was already affecting the whole population, continuing to withhold the plan from the Committee amounted to a violation of section 74. The Warden said he would have the plan doctored so that producing it would not reveal ducts, tunnels, and security installations and would then give a copy of the doctored plan to the Committee. It is clear the Warden would not have agreed to produce a copy of the plan upon request, had the Committee not used section 74 to force the issue. It was also clear that the Warden was not pleased at being put in the position of having to choose between producing a copy of the plan before he wanted to and possibly violating this section.

By itself, the matter of whether or not the Committee's request for a copy of the plan is granted has little significance. In a greater sense, however, the matter represents a test of section 74 and this in the context of these comments a test of what I call the Act's progressive nature.

Assuming the plan is shared with the Committee, what are the ramifications? First, the possibility of better allocating space is created by giving interested prisoners the information they require to make useful suggestions. Second, awareness of the Act's potential is raised. On the down side one would count the time and effort expended by the person who had to doctor the plan. One might also have to include here the possibility that forcing the issue might have caused resentment and that thus may yet have negative repercussions. The down side of this episode deserves additional comment, because it applies in similar situations.

As in the example above, providing the opportunity to contribute to a decision will often require that managers first make the context in which a decision is being made clear to the prisoners who might contribute to the decision. This will always take some time and effort, and one can foresee the instances in which managers would feel that time and effort so expended was wasted, because the prisoners involved did not reciprocate by taking the time and expending the effort that would have been required to make a meaningful contribution to whatever decisions have been made. If, for example, prisoners entered into this process in bad faith, perhaps looking only to cost managers time and effort, it is likely that future possibilities of benefitting from a cooperative effort would diminish in number and scope and with just cause. And one should not overlook that a manager can influence a prisoner's personal situation a great deal with minimal effort. The rule here is simple: those who oppose their keepers pay, and those who help their keepers get paid — payment being measured in how much time a person serves and under what conditions. Given this position a manager enjoys power relative to an individual prisoner at present and given the demands that compliance with this section would make on managers, it is likely that managers and national CSC planners have purposely avoided setting any policy regarding section 74.

Reintegration

The CSC does comply with provisions relating to reintegration. It began developing itself around this idea years before the Act took effect. Section 102 of the Act's Regulations deals with reintegration directly. 102(1) obliges the CSC to develop a Correctional Plan for each prisoner and to maintain the plan to "insure that the inmate receives the most effective programs...to prepare the inmate for reintegration into the community...as a law-abiding citizen." Prisoners who work toward release according to their correctional plan seem to be afforded insurance that their efforts will not be in vain by way of subsection 102(2) of the Regulations, which says:

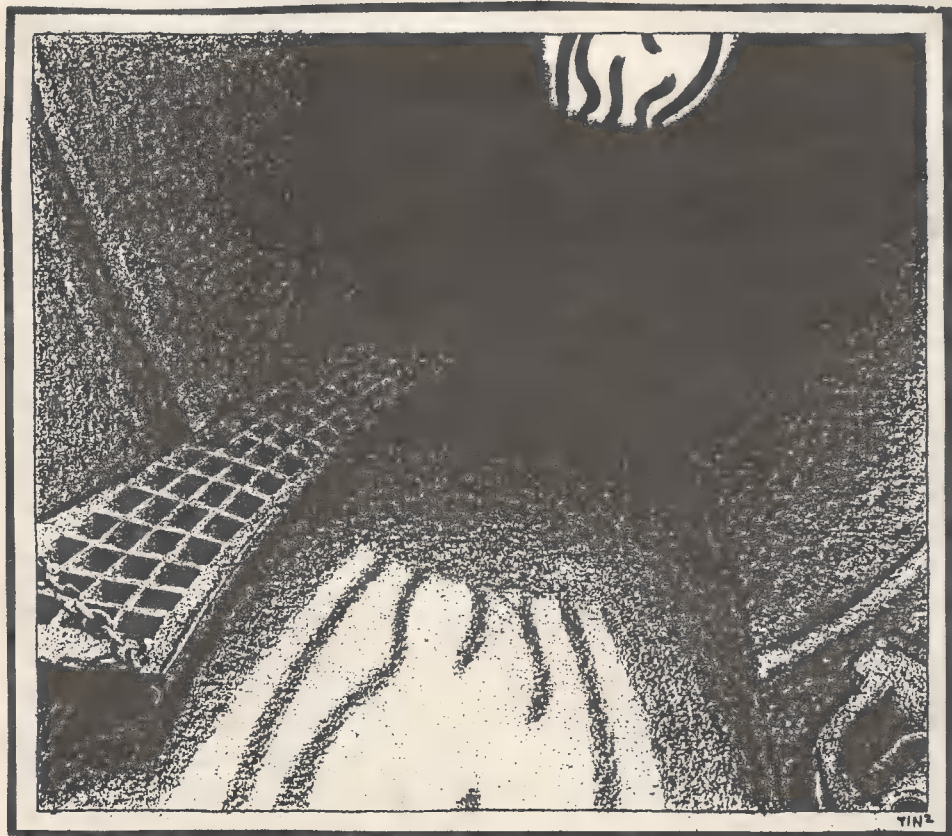
When considering program selection for or the transfer or conditional release of an inmate, the Service shall take into account the inmate's progress towards meeting the objectives set out in the inmate's correctional plan.

102(2) is of special importance to those targeted for detention until the end of their sentences, i.e., those who could be denied conditional release altogether. (People serving definite sentences who have not been ordered detained until warrant expiry can be released before and, by law, must be released at the two-thirds mark of their sentences. Release at two-thirds of sentence is called statutory release.) The Act expands the target group for detention beyond two-thirds of sentence from only those likely to commit serious violent offenses to include those likely to commit further serious drug offenses. Each case for detention beyond two-thirds of sentence is decided by the NPB at a detention hearing. As with any other parole hearing, the prisoner has the right to have an assistant, (legal or other), at a detention hearing. It is yet far from clear how many of those targeted for detention under the expanded provisions will actually be detained. Given the wording of Regulation 102(2), one thing is clear: it will be harder to make a case for detention against those who follow their correctional plans, than against those who do not.

CSC programs

The programs the CSC offers prisoners in relation to correctional plans, rehabilitation, and reintegration vary between prisons and regions of the country and range from a gem that qualifies prisoners as electronics technicians to intense, individualized treatment by psychiatrists and psychologists to modify violent criminal behaviour. The bulk of the programming offered, however, falls into two broad categories: drug and alcohol rehabilitation and living skills training. The rehab programs vary in quality and intensity, beginning with Narcotics Anonymous and Alcoholics Anonymous and ending with programs offered only at isolated facilities that are managed exclusively around the specific rehab program the facility offers. Under the heading of living skills training one finds programs like "Street Readiness" which prepares people for release by directing them to social assistance agencies, helping them to restore lost IDs and instructing them in how best to find and keep work, as well as progress offering help in controlling anger. These programs are designed and delivered by professionals, i.e., teachers, social workers, and psychologists. Unfortunately, the CSC is moving from offering living skills training (lower case) to offering Living Skills Training (upper case). The latter consists of five short modules and seems to represent the barest minimum of what can be said to constitute a program under section 3. It was designed by the CSC and is delivered exclusively by people who entered the CSC as guards and case workers. I see this move as unfortunate, because ex-guards and ex-case workers generally do not influence prisoners a great deal in a classroom-like setting. One reason the CSC relies on its own this way is that section 4 of the Act contains a guiding principle that obliges the CSC to provide

continued on next page



Tales of the National Parole Board

Most of the time, it is difficult to determine the truths underlying what one hears and reads in the mainstream media. It is not very often that critical domestic problems are highly publicized, especially when they concern such sensitive issues as Canada's National Parole Board (NPB).

The Chretien government talked a lot of hard-line stuff on crime. Such ideas as longer sentences, new laws to curb domestic violence, harsher treatment of narcotics traffickers and smugglers, and even some talk and debate on the reinstatement of the death penalty. This can be construed as the usual policy promises of any party during election campaigns. However, it was after winning the elections in the fall of 1993 that the new government made news with their concerns about the current method of appointing NPB members and the need for reform.

An account of my last experience with the NPB will clearly illustrate the deficiencies that the federal government has also detected. During the summer of '93, I had the occasion to appear at a panel hearing of the NPB. I was nearing my date of liberation and had asked for temporary absence to secure housing for when my release came. I thought it was a straightforward and reasonable request and was not prepared for what transpired during the hour-and-a-half hearing.

I admitted my long-term substance abuse, the problems underlying it and past anti-social behaviours which are closely connected to it. I explained that, as the frequency of imprisonment and length of sentences increased, I had made a personal commitment to transform my behaviours and character because of my desire to get out and stay out of prisons. I stated that, during the past six years, I have done my best to address character faults related to developmental problems I experienced during my formative years.

That I maintained my composure while not giving much ground during my hearing indicates to me that I have done well in my attempt at personal change. However, after about an hour of heated

debate with the senior member of the two on the Board, I got a notion that she was trying to get me to react to their attempts at pushing my buttons. At times they asked the same questions in differing forms in what seemed an attempt to frustrate me. Then I realized that many of the questions had no relation to the reasons for that day's hearing. I soon became aware that I was beginning to become overly defensive and I had to check myself. I maintained a respectful composure, and did not get angry even though I had reason and right to.

The hearing then escalated to a point where the senior member stood up, slammed her hands on the table and raised her voice, yelling that I was nothing but a criminal drug addict and I failed to take responsibility for my inappropriate actions by blaming others for my misfortunes. This was after I had already twice refuted their arguments, saying that I was not laying blame but simply relating some of the circumstances behind my making very bad choices. I should mention that they seemed placated when I expressed my not wishing to be involved in a class action law suit with a group of abuse survivors of a training school I'd endured for six months. At St John's I experienced physical and psychological abuse and barely escaped severe sexual assault by the lay order of Catholic Brothers who oversaw the prison camp for children.

Although the final decision of the Board was to grant me passes, I left the hearing feeling confused, angry and abused. I had every reason to believe that the Board members completely failed to understand what I had told them. I was sure that they were unable to relate to my problems of addiction and how those came about. By the way I was feeling deep within myself, I knew their reactions to my criminal record and answers to their questions restimulated in me the feelings of abuse that I had experienced in the past from most people in authority.

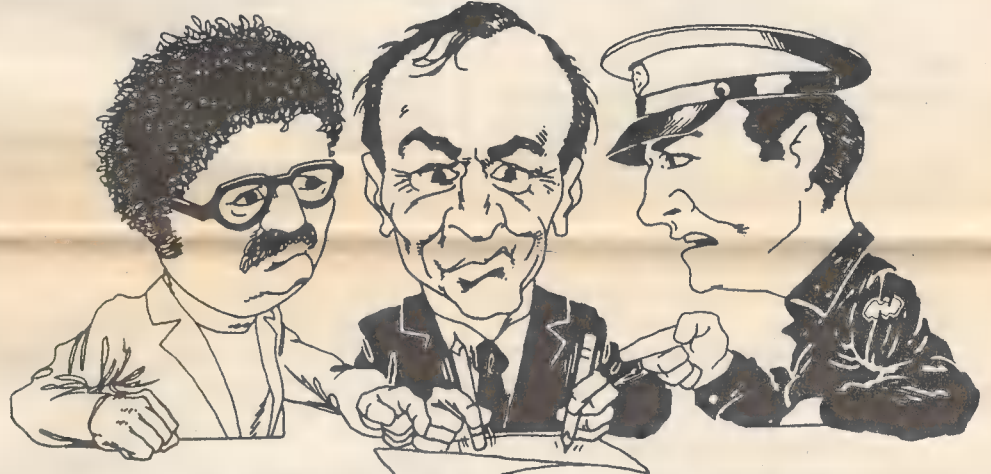
Considering the type of people who are members of the Parole Board and the method of their appointment to it, I am not

surprised by what occurred during my hearing. Neither do I have to think too much to know just why parole boards are such a controversial issue. No doubt my perceptions reflect the reasons why the federal government is saying they want reform.

To date, the NPB has largely remained accountable to no one, even though new law has been enacted to oversee corrections and conditional release. Parole Board members continue to be appointed according to their political affiliation and ideologies and privileged class positions. It is no wonder they are stymied by the anti-social character and behaviours of those who appear before them.

How could people of upper-class homes and highly respected positions in the community understand the undeniable factors of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and substance abuse that are the causes of so many being inside prison? How can we expect people from loving and caring families to even begin to relate to the incest, emotional and psychological abuse and violence against women and children which is responsible for the fact that so many people lead anti-social and destructive lives? And furthermore, how can we logically think that people, reading a file of an offender they meet with only once, can make informed and proper decisions to grant or deny conditional release?

Prisoners have frequently expressed their confusion when they see those who surely deserved parole getting shot down and those whom they know will reoffend being granted early release. In fact, prisoners and ex-prisoners would likely be the ones to make better decisions in most cases.



Determining if Zoltan has rehabilitated himself

There is a truth to the old saying, "You can't con another con."

The Liberal government is saying that a large part of the problem and the reasons for far too many of the Board's mistakes are because of ill-informed decisions. The appointments have not been based on what Parole Board members know about social ills and crime, or the judging of character but were the result of political patronage. Future members must have a balance of these traits. People who assess candidates for early release must understand how and why people end up in prisons and be able to judge whether the offenders have addressed the causes of their criminality. Current methods have the same kind of results as would a simple flip of the coin. And grave mistakes have led to much senseless crime, as well as public misconceptions that result in an outcry for more police and prisons because people think prisoners are a lost cause. People are mistakenly lead to believe that the problem of crime will be solved by locking people away.

The economic and social costs of the politics of the National Parole Board and prisons in general are getting to be far too much to bear. The question remains whether the government's talk of reform will become effective action, or whether someone is blowing more air. ∞

Zoltan Lugosi
Millhaven Penitentiary

Zoltan will be out again very shortly.
Write to him at:

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P.O. Box 238, Stn B
Toronto, Ont M5T 2W1

New act *con't from page 10*

"appropriate career development opportunities" for staff members. Ironically, compliance with this provision reduces the effectiveness of some programs the CSC provides in compliance with section 3.

A thorough evaluation of programming within the CSC is beyond my purpose here and, given the CSC's reluctance to disclose specific information about its activities in this area, likely beyond my abilities as well.

Section 81 is perhaps the most interesting and progressive section in the Act. It may also prove to be the most practical. Its subsection (1) reads:

[The Solicitor General of Canada]...may enter into an agreement with an aboriginal community for the provision of correctional services to aboriginal offenders and for payment by the [The Solicitor General]...in respect of the provision of those services.

Subsection 81(2) reads:

Notwithstanding subsection (1), an agreement entered into under that subsection may provide for the provision of correctional services to a non-aboriginal offender.

Subsection 81(3) reads:

In accordance with any agreement entered into under subsection (1), the Commissioner (of the CSC) may transfer an offender to the care and custody

of an aboriginal community, with the consent of the offender and of the aboriginal community.

Section 81 is particularly interesting in light of the national referendum held in October of 1992 on whether to accept the Charlottetown Accord, (a proposed package of constitutional amendments), because the accord had included making Native self-government a constitutional right. The Charlottetown Accord was not accepted by Canadians, though polls concerning the referendum showed a substantial majority of Canadians favoured granting Canada's First Nations the right to govern themselves. Since the parties who would negotiate agreements under 81(1) spent considerable energy considering self-government leading up to the referendum, they are now in a favourable position with regard to this section.

The progressive aspect of section 81 is self-evident. An understanding of the practical aspects of the section may benefit from further comment. The first thing to consider is that Native communities will not likely build jails and prisons that resemble those of the federal government, and one cannot well imagine the Solicitor General expecting otherwise. Section 81 is obviously meant to make allowances for the cultural differences between Native societies and Canadian society at large. One therefore assumes that an agreement under 81(1) would see a "prisoner" in a Native community "held" there by her or his honour. This would eliminate the cost of custody,

leaving only the cost of care for the community to meet. At present, it costs the federal government approximately \$40,000 per year to keep one person in federal detention. One assumes communities can care for a person for considerably less. If this proves to be the case, agreements may be reached quickly. And if they are, and if they prove beneficial to all concerned, the door to innovation throughout the system could be thrown wide open.

The Act is not without an odious aspect: urinalysis has been reinstated. The previous provision for testing federal prisoners for drug use by urinalysis had been ruled unconstitutional in *Jackson 1990*. This Federal Court decision left everyone expecting the CSC would simply revise its provisions, because the Court ruled mandatory urinalysis for prisoners per se was not unconstitutional, only that the provisions in use at the time failed to provide sufficient safeguards against violations of a prisoner's right not to be deprived of the fundamental principles of justice and the right against unreasonable search and seizure. It is certain that the new provisions will be examined judicially as well. In the meantime, the CSC and the NPB are making full use of the Act's provisions in this area.

At the time of this writing, the Solicitor General is sponsoring two bills dealing with "preventive detention" beyond the end of a person's sentence. As with detention until the end of sentence, any laws that might allow detention beyond

that point would have to be judged on their application. Public pressure to keep violent people in prison is real and influential and understandable. It makes no sense to release someone from detention, being certain the person will commit serious harm to others. But who has to be certain, what makes the person certain, and how exactly will that and should that affect the person who is consequently detained?

There is no mention of preventive detention in the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*. The possibility of preventive detention being legislated however, relates to the Act here inasmuch as it serves to show that laws affecting prisons and parole are subject to relatively quick and substantial change. It is because of this that I see the Act, which by law will undergo a comprehensive review five years from the date it took effect, as a window of opportunity. This Act has a distinctly holistic spirit, as evidenced by its reliance on reintegration in defining its purpose and directing its resources. This is good. It should be exploited.

In closing I say to my fellow prisoners, let us make good use of the practical and progressive nature of the Act. To the community at large, I say, wish us luck, because you will benefit, if we succeed. ∞

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(Written for the *Journal on Prisoners on Prisons*.)

"KOPS" — KKKolonial Occupation Personnel

Revolutionary greetings:

How do We distinguish de enemy who works for de state, who works as a kkkop on de block or a kkkop in de kkkoncentration kkkamps? How do We view Our own people who work for GE, McDonald Douglas, etc. and other kkkorporations who help manufacture bombs, fighter planes, tanks, bullets, etc. dat are used in genocide of New Afrikans and other third world peoples? Do We see these folks as enemies too?

It appears to be some confusion amongst Us on de inside (probably outside too) on how We should view these Black/New Afrikan pigs, Black/New Afrikan kkkops and how We should relate to them. Well, i would like to offer a perspective on de question.

For de record, a pig to me is a filthy animal with no morals or principles who will eat anything placed in front of 'em, wallow in their own filth and do whatever they are told. Dat is de four-legged pig. Then you have de two-legged pig who has no morals or principles, no values other than dat dictated by his/her master. Who does what they are told and whose whole existence exist around a wage. Dats how i see de murderous, bloodsucking, genociding pig in uniform and how they relate to oppressed people, particularly New Afrikans.

Lookin at de pig/kkkop in de kkkamps it appears dat a lot of Us are trying to draw subjective/individual distinctions based solely on an individual pig/kkkop's actions. A lot of de time dis is actually rooted in opportunism where if a pig/kkkop brings you some drugs, extra food or do some other kind of "favor" he or she is not looked upon as de enemy. Dis favor removes de kontradiction of one's klass role and klass relationship to Us as kaptured kolonials, Political Prisoners of War, etc. When we try to look at pigs/kkkops solely on an individual level We are stripping them of their klass character.

One of de main arguments We hear is dat most New Afrikan pigs/kkkops work in de kkkamps because of economic reasons. Dat because of a lack of jobs they come in these kkkamps to work/oppress Us. Dat dis also applies to de kkkop on de block who caint find another job. i basically

agree with dis *but* does it negate de Neo-kkkolonial role dat these forces play? Does it negate de Neo kkkolonial relationship? i don't think so. Let me explain.

When some of Us say, "Hey, even tho they here for economic reasons they still de enemy, they still Neo's," de response has been well if dats de case then Our fathers, mothers, sistas, etc. who work in factories, GE, IBM, etc. are also de enemy, etc. Dat is a false conclusion and fail to draw a distinction between those who sell their labor power and thus become producers/manufacturers for imperialism and those who *join* de imperialist security apparatus and thereby *enforce state policies*. De fact dat one is part of a apparatus is de key to drawing de distinction between de two. De sista or brotha in de factory aint enforcing no state policy/law. They aint *enforcing* kkkolonialism. Yet We can take it even further.

De pigs/kkkops have a klass relationship to imperialism and New Afrikans as a oppressed Nation. Dis relationship is one of oppression and a buffer for kkkolonial/imperialist oppression. They help to *maintain* dat oppressive relationship and therefore help to strengthen de primary kontradiction of kkkolonialism between New Afrikans and de settler imperialist state.

Their allegiance is primarily to de state through their allegiance to a wage. De slave wage dictates their consciousness, and their whole consciousness and material existence revolves around dat *slave wage*. De first thing a Black pig/kkkop will tell ya is s/he got a job to do, "i got a family to feed, i got a car note to pay," etc. Hence s/he becomes a whore for de state, prostituted for a wage, and dis wage dictates one's morals, principles, values, etc. When it comes to you and dat wage you gone lose out every time.

Now its exceptions to every rule and within dis klass you will have those dat identify with Our struggle for National Liberation, who may actually commit themselves to Our struggle and even play a role within de enemy kkkamps. Yet dat does not change de klass relationship, and i still think one should be played with a certain amount of distance till it is absolutely positive by one's actions dat s/he stands with de *Movement*. Not with a individual but with a movement for National

Independence and i surmise dat determining de criteria for determining such will be very difficult to come up with.

People kan say how kan We revolutionize all sectors of de Nation and dat pigs/kkkops are also a part of de working klass. Yeah pigs/kkkops *might* be a part of de working klass but they have thrown their interest in with de *bosses* with de Neo-character of de klass and therefore *don't* deserve to be kounted as part of de people.

It appears many of Us revolutionaries, aspiring revolutionaries, are getting sucked into developing some type of affection for these Neo-kkkolonial dogs just because they are Black/New Afrikans. Some of Us are stepping forward with de actual intentions of politicizing some of these kkkops/pigs and in de process revealing much about Us, Our ideology, etc. i am all for agitation, i am all for causing dissension within their ranks and there might even be a couple dat kan be turned, but it has to be a *Line* and a line drawn.

We caint allow de attempt at politicization to become a euphemism for collaboration in theory and practice. Nor kan We allow de kkkops/pigs who are being trained in psychology/psy op's to use Us unwittingly as agents. As We begin to see dis male/female pig/kkkop more and more as someone oppressed like Us, they begin to lose their enemy characteristics and We begin to relax/drop Our guards and subconsciously *bond* with dis pig/kkkop based on what We have konstructed in Our own minds as their oppression, as their victimization, and We ultimately kombine "their" victimization with Our own to de point de two become blurred, no longer distinguishable.

Moving over to de sista/brotha in de factories, etc., if We recognize dat We are a kkkolonized Nation dominated by settler imperialism, then We have to recognize dat under dis kkkolonial imperialism de means of production has been seized. De whole Nation is looked upon and treated like cheap labor for de interest of imperialism. When We look at de fact We have no kontrol of Our communities, institutions, etc. then We also have to recognize dat We as a people are forced to sell Our labor power to de imperialist in order to survive. We are forced to work in de factories where We produce a product for a wage and then We are forced to rechannel dis same wage back into de imperialist system, imperialist-controlled economy, straight back into de pockets of de kkkolonialist and at dis stage de Neo-kkkolonialist as well.

When you view dis in de kontekst of a national liberation struggle pushing de strategy of Peoples War then We have to recognize dat de sista/brotha inside de factories, sweat shops, etc. konstitute de *People*, these are de people who will be fighting de Peoples War. These are de brothas and sistas who will be carrying out de general strikes, de slowdowns, commit de sabotage, demos, rallies, etc. These will be de people fighting for National liberation! On de other hand de Neo-kkkolonial pigs/kkkops will be de ones repressing and oppressing dis struggle! They will be de ones trying to crush dis legitimate aspiration. De kkkop on de street will be de one ambushing these same factory workers, genociding these workers for his/her imperialist masters. De pigs/kkkops in de kkkamps will be de ones assisting in Our suspicious suicides, torture, etc. Helping to fight for and save their klass interest. For what? So they kan kontinue to get paid a wage, so they kan kontinue to pay their car notes, rents, etc! Its *no* komparison between de two types of workers. A pig is a pig no matter how ya look at it, and if your enforcing state policies of kkkolonialism, genocide, and National Oppression, then you are a *Enemy, a Enemy, a Enemy!*

When you look at Algeria when they were kkkolonized by de french who were occupying it as such, de FLN didn't klassify Algerians who worked in enemy controlled production as de enemy because

they understood the primary kontradiction of kkkolonialism. Now if a general strike was called and ones chose to continue producing for de enemy then dats a different story, a kontradiction dat has to be resolved in de interest of de people and de whole struggle for independence. However, on de other hand, when it kome to kkkops it was klearly understood what was their role and function and dat they were enemies of de people and their struggle. Would We attempt to politicize Colin Powell, Wilson Goode, etc? They just doing their jobs, they earning a wage to care for family,etc. Just doing your job kan never become a rationale/justification for genocide — Not now, Not ever! ∞

Know Thy Enemy Keeping Politics in Command

Shaka Shakur #28443
P.O. Box 557 M.C.C.
Westville, IN 46391-0557

Shaka Shakur has been held in Indiana state prisons for 11 years, since the age of 16, having been charged incorrectly with attempted robbery. This March, a panel of judges will decide whether or not Shaka's case can be appealed. Please write to the judges and express your support for Shaka's release back into his community. If you don't have the facts of the case (see PNS #42 for details), please contact:

Shaka Shakur Defense Campaign
P.O. Box 14075
Chicago, IL 60614
312-862-5718

Letters to the panel of judges should be addressed to:

Clerk of Court of Appeals
217 Statehouse
Indianapolis, IN 46391

Please cite case number
45A0592212PC004

Please send a copy of any letters to the defense campaign, Thanks. ∞

Abuse con't from page 3

This time he was x-rayed for any contraband in his rectum. Proving that Ellerd, Molnar and Malloy had all conspired in the lie that an x-ray would not work. I would bet that Ellerd and Molnar tried very hard to convince Dan Buchler to let them perform another cavity search, and they were probably very disappointed and depressed when they had to settle for an x-ray. Not only because they played a part in lying about the x-ray, but because it is quite possible they were becoming addicted sexually to this form of abuse they initiated on Goldsmith.

I have overheard inmates talking and I have as well talked to a few inmates about this incident. Both the inmates I overheard and the inmates I talked to about this incident seem to come to the conclusion that Ellerd and Molnar are both responsible for having initiated a form of sexual assault on Goldsmith. The inmates all believe it was carried out under malicious intent.

There is no doubt that Ellerd, Molnar, Malloy, etc. will justify their crimes by such commonly used jargon as "security risk", "threat to the institution and the public", "we were only doing our jobs", etc. This type of terminology is always used among those in a position of power to hide the fact that they broke laws and violated a human life. The sad part is that it works, by defending themselves with their lies and jargon they can legally break laws that would normally put anyone else behind bars. In fact, the laws they break seem to always get them a promotion. ∞

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BOOK REVIEW

Sighting the enemy

Night-Vision: Illuminating War & Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain

Butch Lee & Red Rover
Vagabond Press, NY, NY
\$15.95 187 pp + biblio.

January/February 1994 marks another increase in the struggle against the new global economic assault. Among Mayans of Chiapas in southern Mexico, whose guerrilla offensive began January 1, and South Korean farmers marching 25,000 strong to the US consulate and battling 15,000 riot cops, the spirit of rebellion is fierce. The North American Free Trade Pact, according to the Zapatista movement leading the armed and political resistance, is a death sentence for aboriginal people. The dumping of cheap (subsidized) American corn will devastate the Chiapas region. In return for signing the trade pact with the U.S. and Canada, the Salinas government of Mexico eliminated its constitutional protection of communally-held Mayan lands in favour of multinational agribusiness' access to these lands.

In the chaotic free-fall into global economy, local elites and oligarchies must be more fully empowered by imperialism to maintain profitability. Some would say capital is entering a renewed phase of primitive acquisition, which demands a new and mind-boggling control of lands and peoples. Now, the use of captive labour remains more necessary than ever – and as invisible as ever.

How can the old colonialism be defeated, yet imperialism remain so "wickedly great"? By neo-colonialism: which "at its centre relies on women and children", argues Butch Lee and Red Rover in *Night-Vision: Illuminating War & Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain*. But the time of identity politics is over:

The old anti-colonial unities of race or nation or gender are dysfunctional now, because the parasitic class relations of neo-colonialism have overridden everything. Parasitism is the knot that remains uncut awaiting new answers.

Night-Vision addresses the web of critical relations between races and genders, understanding both as classes created to fill imperialism's demands. Like *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* and *Bottomfish Blues: Women and Children in the Armed Struggle*, its dual starting-place, this work combines style with substance through the use of visual images and in choppy, in-your-face prose that communicates ideas freshly and with humour.

Proceeding from an anti-colonial analysis based on the imperialist defeat in Vietnam, current class, race and gender dynamics are examined as nations are made and unmade in the image of imperialism's war for profits.

A fight to decide what races, genders and nations mean exists because national liberation movements won on the world scene and forced de-colonization. We're going to break this down starting with race and gender and working our way to nation.

...Races are neither just natural biological groupings nor are they just fiction. Liberals used to pretend that race was 'only skin deep:' only about unimportant skin colour and hair differences blown up by prejudice. It's not like that. Capitalism created its races out of different peoples as building blocks of its culture, to carry out different assigned roles, as meta-classes.

While it is made clear that race is "real" enough to determine your life from cradle to grave, this point of race-as-class is illustrated by the strategy of the bourgeoisie in 19th century Amerika, who had up until that time defined "white" to mean Anglo-

Amerikan. Quoting from J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, the imperialist strategy of "Americanization" is explained:

The Eastern and Southern European national minorities were widely defined as non-white ...it was often stated that these 'races' were prone to extreme and violent political behavior that the calm, business-like Anglo-Saxon had long since outgrown. ... In November, 1918, a private dinner meeting of some fifty of the largest employers of immigrant labor discussed Americanization (this was the phrase used at the time). It was agreed by those capitalists that the spread of 'Bolshevism' among the industrial immigrants was a real danger. ... It was thus well understood by the bourgeoisie that these European workers' consciousness of themselves as oppressed national minorities made them open to revolutionary ideas – and, on the other hand, their possible corruption into Amerikan citizens would make them more loyal to the u.s. Imperialism. The meeting formed the Inter-Racial Council ... the 'races' being 'uplifted' were all European.

It is not intended that we should fall prey to the white left in its insistence on race-as-class for its own vanguardist purposes. In discussing colonialism as the source of capitalist industrialization, the authors note:

The intellectual representatives of capitalism ... want us to believe that the breakthrough to scientific civilization was generated *within* whiteness, by white entrepreneurial profits, by white technology. White "marxists" have said the same thing in different terms, saying that industrialization came from white people ruthlessly exploiting the white working class. Karl Marx himself, of course, wrote more than once that the world-shaking rise of industrial capitalism was completely based on Afrikan slavery.

Again from *Settlers*:

Africans were the landless, propertyless, permanent workers of the u.s. Empire. They were not just slaves – the Afrikan nation as a whole served as a proletariat for the Euro-Amerikan oppressor nation

Night-Vision comments:

The productive New Afrikan Nation's polar opposite was the "United States", which from its inception was a criminal society of parasites. This isn't racism we're talking about. The u.s.a. was a specific type of nation, a white settler empire: a nation whose male citizens were imported garrison for an invading euro-capitalism; a nation whose only territory is the Land they conquered and cleared by genocide; a nation that is really an empire containing many captive nations on the continent and abroad.

The writings of Franz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral and Kwame Nkrumah are examined for insights into the shifting position of imperialism from colonialism to neo-colonialism in the mid-20th century.

To Cabral's insight, the weakness of colonialism was that it united whole populations against it by even denying its own native allies and servants their class ambition. It squashed society into a horizontal structure, a "nation-class." Neo-colonialism, he saw, tried to correct this weakness by giving way or even pushing some sort of national liberation!

Kwame Nkrumah's 1965 study of neo-colonialism was another landmark text (*Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism* was the U.S.'s "Satanic Verses" of the time, causing its government to "react sharply ... holding the government of Ghana fully responsi-

ble for whatever consequences the book's publication may have") which gave this definition of neo-colonialism:

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside...The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous state."

As a Pan-Afrikanist Nkrumah saw unity in the form of a 'literal merger of the entire Black continent under one state' as the necessary condition for defeating the neo-colonial strategy of divide and rule. But in his own entry into the power structure of the newly independent Ghana he lost the support of the market women who had organized the Party. *Night-Vision* quotes a conservative critic of Nkrumah, who wrote:

"There was another social feature of Gold Coast life, which was specifically African and was to prove of enormous importance to the revolution. For the great mass of the common people the centre of African life has always been the market. ... the traders for generations have been women ... in action in the market, meeting tens of thousands of their fellow citizens every day. ... Nkrumah realized at a very early stage in his political career ... that 'as go the women, so goes Ghana', and applied himself to assiduously to cultivate their goodwill, their love and their purses. 'From the beginning,' admits Nkrumah, 'women have been the chief field organizers. ... and have been responsible for the most part in bringing about the solidarity and cohesion of the Party.' ... It was when the women - the market women - began to complain bitterly about the unbearable conditions of life in the country, and to display publicly a hostile attitude towards Nkrumah's regime that most Ghanaians knew, perhaps for the first time, that Nkrumah had reached the end of the political road."

Night-Vision, while making clear that Nkrumah was overthrown by a military coup with C.I.A. links, comments:

"No one thinks of women such as the powerful market women of Ghana as a "new" class, since women are the oldest class of all. In most accounts of anti-colonialism, which zoom in on male leaders and armies, colonized women are a minor note. You know, "faithful supporters" and "good helpers." Truth is that rebellious women made the anti-colonial revolutions. Without the rising of women there would have been few anti-colonial victories on any continent."

Here is where *Night-Vision* proposes a new synthesis, and where it qualitatively enlarges the territory delineated by its mother-texts, *Settlers* and *Bottomfish Blues*. *Settlers* stayed clear of gender, excepting a few comments on white feminism as a reformation of the petit-bourgeois impulse to add its former critics to its loyal ranks. *Bottomfish Blues* laid out the gender arguments within the class/race context, drawing from German sociologist Maria Mies' landmark book,

Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale.

Night-Vision advances the idea, sometimes with knife-point precision, that the labour, paid and unpaid, of women and children form imperialism's deepest well: that women and children *as classes* make possible the colonization and neo-colonization of races and nations.

Young Third World women are at the overseas production base of many corporations. This is well known. The key is not that Third World women are super-exploited but that they are themselves a commodity, property. The invisible commodity that, like the Afrikan slavery before them, defines the entire system above them.

...It is in the nature of wage-labor for workers to sell their working lives, their labor power, as a commodity alienated from themselves, to capitalism. On the surface, this is what these sisters do as an everyday survival deal-what's assumed to be a poorer version of you or me. There's a qualitative difference. Third World women have been pushed further downward in country after country as part of neo-colonialism's modern development process.

Night-Vision traces this trend in the most developed capitalist economies of the Third World – Bangladesh (the sixth largest supplier of apparel to Amerika, considered the "cheapest country" for the garment industry employing mostly young women working for as little as \$13 a month), the Philippines (under the neo-colonial Aquino government, "exported" women are, according to one Filipino expert, "one of our top ten foreign-exchange earners, more than sugar or mining"), South Korea and Thailand (one out of every six South Korean women between 15 and 35 is in the sex industry, according to a women's project estimate, and figures may be higher in Thailand where tourism is the biggest source of foreign exchange) and Hong Kong (in the electronics industry, they say to women over 25, Grandma, where are your glasses? as 'after three or four years of peering through a microscope, a worker's vision begins to blur'). The authors sum up:

Out of these Third World women's labour and lives is made the computer-chips, the televisions, the VCRs and other electronic consumer goods, the levis, industrial products, the always in season fruits and vegetables ... the kind of profits that the multi-national corporations

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Surviving prison

There is certainly reason and justification for the discontent and frustration of prisoners. While people are being punished with the loss of liberty, the abusive nature of the retributive system of justice is also claiming prisoners' human-ness and dignity. The result is that the imprisoned are experiencing much hate and despair, often causing them to perpetuate the violence that prisons already breed. In turn, the state is able to justify in their minds the use of imprisonment, especially when ex-prisoners express their resentment in anti-social behaviours.

The most dominant condition among prisoners is one of powerlessness and a sense of loss of control. That because they are locked in heavily fortified and observed cages, their day to day lives are out of their hands. This cruel, but very real condition can reduce people to an animal level of subsistence just to survive. It is no wonder that prisoners then prey on each other, maintain racist, homophobic and class attitudes and generally continue the anti-social behaviours that caused their imprisonment. The sense of powerlessness is all the more a result of the abusive authority that prison overseers and keepers maintain. And the increasing use of maximum security and special handling units does not help either.

Although everything said is true, there are ways to overcome the sense of powerlessness that the keepers use as an ultimate form of control. There are means to develop and maintain self-control that will override anything the state dishes out. In fact, it is only up to the individual prisoner as to who or what will control their being, except of course, that they are physically secured in confinement. It does, however, require a very real and strong desire, a determined will and a serious commitment to empower oneself and to develop a sense of control. This is the first of a series of ongoing articles that will serve as a practical guide to do this and be better despite prison.

Initially, a prisoner must never expect

anything from his or her keeper except that which is of the daily routine. The bare essentials are provided in most prisons and only when food, bedding and clothing are denied should a prisoner ask for issue of these items or make a formal complaint if refused. Otherwise, the least amount of interaction and confrontation with prison guards will assure that you are not harassed, disrespected or abused. It will also ensure a prisoner's least amount of frustration and not reacting to the prisoncrats' over-reaction is the best way to keep a low profile.

Neither should a prisoner have any notions of the so-called rehabilitation that correctional facilities claim is their purpose. The criminal justice system is merely another of the failing government bureaucracies of capitalist democracy. Most of the time, the left hand has no idea what the right is doing. Mounds of necessary, but undone paperwork, communication breakdown and general chaos coupled with laziness and apathy is responsible for much of the frustration of prisoners that easily becomes anger and then rage. These highly volatile emotions can be avoided, making it easier to use the time spent inside constructively — to get better despite prison.

It must always be kept in mind that reacting to feelings of powerlessness is exactly what your keepers want. Inappropriate and anti-social behaviours in the minds of prisoncrats warrant institutional charges, and provide reasons for their abusive authority and even lengthy stays in torture chambers where overcontrol is the daily norm. Learning the hard way often means physical violence resulting in injury and even death at the hands of pigs who know no restraints. Ongoing verbal and physical battle with your keepers is the easiest and most sure method to let your time do you. How to effectively deal with the brutality and psychological deficiencies of most security is a method not simply explained, making it necessary to

devote an entire article that will appear in this series.

It is possible to set and attain realistic and appropriate goals in any prison setting. We only have to look to prisoners on death row to see that even those whose days are numbered can develop healthy relationships, educate themselves and transform their attitudes and behaviours to become upstanding human beings. What to keep in mind at the onset is that humans are able to adapt to most stable situations. Prisons do offer a strict routine that anyone can use to develop the necessary self-discipline required to endure the harshest regimes. This serves to empower oneself, but it takes a daily schedule of what the individual chooses to do. There are a variety of things to choose from, with a few examples being physical exercise, meditation, education and reading. Pick something that serves your interests, it could be a hobby and do it for a set period at the same time each day. The result of any serious attempt at self-discipline will eventually instill a sense of self-control and then there is no room for anything to control you.

Effective physical and mental development of a prisoner ultimately causes one to think about how and why they ended up in prison in the first place. There are many variations of crime but most prisoners know in their heart and mind that if things were only different, they would rather live a happy and productive life. Well, not everyone stays in prison forever, so in order to get out and not return, some things have to change. It becomes necessary to assess one's character, attitude and behaviours, decide which are negative and then replace them with more pro-social ones. Again, this also requires a somewhat comprehensive strategy that will be published in future issues.

While some prisons do offer so-called rehabilitative programs to errants, these programs sustain a high level of failure to motivate and direct ex-prisoners to pro-social lifestyles. What have been successful are prisoner-peer and self-help groups, which are often facilitated or supported by

community groups. This is where it is up to the prisoners to take the initiative to reach out to their peers or concerned and supportive community members who have proven to assist errants with their specific needs. In prisons where there are no such groups, it is time to take up the struggle to start them. Groups of individuals in a common struggle serve to empower themselves and each other, even when there may only be two members to begin with. A short list of community organizations involved in prisoner-support programs appears at the end of this article. Write to them, outlining your intentions and needs and chances are they may even direct you to a local community organization if they're unable to send you material and literature with guidelines for successful methods.

As mentioned earlier, in no way is this comprehensive enough to empower all prisoners to take control of their lives, even though your keepers think they can do it for you. Some struggles to overcome the guilt, lack of self-worth, aggressive behaviours and other severe social illnesses of many prisoners require more guidelines and resources. But it all begins with the individual prisoner taking the initiative and making a commitment to take control of their life to steer a better course. Future articles will list more organizations to contact, give practical guidelines to working methods of dealing with prison staff and peers, tell how to start self-help groups, offer an informed list and capsule review of readily available and highly useful reading materials, and outline a course of action for prisoners seeking education and mental and spiritual awareness.

In no way does this writer claim to know all there is to the theme of not only surviving in prison, but being released a better person. Therefore, I express my desire to create a dialogue with others who may have newer and better ideas or useful information. Let us build solidarity by helping each other while empowering ourselves. Together we can remove the boot of the state from our necks. Write:

Quaker Committee on Jails and Justice
60 Lowther St.
Toronto, Ont M5R 1C7

Citizens United For Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE) has state organizations and issue chapters. Write to the National Chapter at:

CURE
P.O. Box 2310
National Capital Station
Washington, DC 20013-2310

Federal Prison Chapter
P.O. Box 6176
Terre Haute, IN 47802

for those serving life:

Life-long CURE
P.O. Box 1167
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130

Michigan-CURE and CURE-SORT and the American Friends Service Committee have developed a number of brochures and booklets to aid defendants, prisoners and their families. There is no charge for single copies. You are invited to make copies of the material. If you intend to do so, ask them to send you a copy on white paper for easier reproduction. Send a self-addressed stamped envelope to:

MI-CURE
P.O. Box 2736
Kalamazoo, MI 49003-2736

Please remember that these groups are usually poorly funded, depend on volunteers and are not miracle workers. They all try to do what they can, given their limited resources.

Anyone who has ideas, information, or the names of helpful organizations that can be included in the series outlined above by Zoltan, should send them to him at:

Zoltan Lugosi

Zoltan was recently reimprisoned on a technical violation of his parole. See page 12 for his address.

THE INVISIBLES

What kind of therapy have you received in prison for your drug addiction?

THEY CALL IT CELL THERAPY. IT LASTS FOR YEARS AND DOESN'T WORK IN MOST CASES...

BUT THEN THAT'S HOW THE DEPT. OF "CORRECTIONS" DOES THINGS.

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Night Vision from page 13

make out of \$15 or \$25 a month women haven't been seen since chattel slavery. This is the commodity that above all others determines the culture of the neo-colonial world order.

A short discussion follows on the unwaged labour provided by women and children, as

All waged labour rests upon the greater foundation of women's unwaged labor. This is why outlines of class structure based solely upon waged labor aren't accurate. No more than they would have been in the Old Slave South.*

Night-Vision concentrates on the economic roots rather than social symptoms of male supremacy. There is little or no mention of the construction of compulsory heterosexuality, nor the role of religion in defining gender behaviour, roles, rights and privileges. In fact, mention of religion as a force

shaping gender is confined to almost gratuitous comments about Islam, even as the authors examine the Christian European witch-burnings. *Night-Vision* quotes from *Women & Children in the Armed Struggle*:

The patriarchy's Witchhunt was in the first place directly economic, a means of unwaged capital accumulation. ... it was independent women who were the main targets. ... unmarried women, who were not owned by a man, were a majority of those burned as witches, with widows being 45-50% of the victims. ... all the property of arrested women belonged to the State, [and] the lion's share of this wealth minted from slaughtering women went to the State treasuries. It paid for the armies of men who produced nothing useful, for highways to carry trade, for expeditions to 'discover' the Third World — in short, the pre-conditions for capitalism to grow. ... Women were euro-capitalism's first colony, the "inner colony" ...

Industrial super-exploitation and sexual slavery of women under both colonialism and neo-colonialism still relate to the earlier making of women into a class. In christian euro-capitalism's primitive acquisition of "pagan" lands, the living connection of women to those lands was key. Even under neo-colonial restructuring, at least two-thirds of all agricultural work is done by women. *Night-Vision*:

The u.n. says that 2/3 of the world's food production is by women. In many societies, women as a gender equals the people who grow the food. Women are historically the farming class, to put it another way. But as soon as capitalist development infects agriculture, with farming as a cash export business, then the ruling class reassigns land and farming to men as part of their gender identity. ... Everywhere women are being driven off the land — and Nature has nothing to do with it. ... You can dream a

continued on next page

MOVE's story: a correct interpretation

This is a response to the article in the Sept/Oct 1993 edition of *PNS*, entitled "Looking at de response by de state to Waco" by Shaka Shakur, which mentions MOVE:

Shaka Shakur prefaced his article with the question: Talking about WACO, where de pigs went Wacko, do we say okay because dey went Wacko in Philadelphia (a reference to the 1985 government bombing massacre of 11 MOVE members — 5 children and 6 Adults)?"

Shakur makes this inquiry after listening to subjective and reactionary statements from brothers imprisoned with him shortly after the Waco incident. (Shakur gives the example of people saying, "dey should have attacked Waco from day one, dey didn't wait in Philly" and "dey letting dem honkies get away with shit dey

wouldn't let Us get away with ..."). And through his article, he attempts to parallel and examine the state repression of the Branch Davidians to that of MOVE while offering a perspective on how we should react to such an atrocity.

After reviewing the article I found much of Shakur's remarks to be well-principled, and concur with the position that it is hypocrisy to allow ignorance, and bigotry to determine the way we respond to government brutality of people of different nationalities or with different beliefs — especially when those people have not adopted the philosophies of your enemy, and are not oppressing others. Indeed, to a clear mind, they would become allies!

However, what I did find vexing about Shakur's commentary was how he seems to misinterpret, or trivialize, the significance of MOVE's struggle when he juxtaposed MOVE's preparation for government attack to that at Waco.

In the article, Shakur relates that: "even though de MOVE members had been victimized by de State agents of repression [and know dat an attack was inevitable dey were not really prepared for an attack or prepared to adequately defend themselves] ... Even though dey was in de heart of a New Afrikan Community dey had become alienated from dat community ... [when de agents of repression attacked, pumping over 20,000 rounds into de house, then fire-bombing it, burning women, men and kids alive, dey could not make it out due to enemy fire] ... MOVE had no tunnels, underground bunkers, nor stockpiles of necessities, etc. [Hence their preparation for an eventual confrontation was at best premature] ..."

However, on the other hand, when referring to Waco, with contradictory positions, Shakur finds that: "... These armed people (Branch Davidians) [were more dan prepared for an armed confrontation with de agents of Rome]. i am sure dat de agents of repression did not foresee the use of tanks against dem. [De agents were forced to recognize de fact dat these people were prepared], [yet We know dey could have attacked and obliterated Waco if dey wanted to just like dey eventually did]. We do

not doubt/deny de fact dat racism played a huge part in de State's initial response to Waco in juxtaposition to its response to MOVE, [but didn't de end result turn out de same? Men, women, and children were murdered by de state] ..."

The paradox in Shakur's analysis of the government's response to MOVE and the Branch Davidians comes from: (i) Shakur's apparent lack of knowledge regarding MOVE's story, and (ii) a misconception surrounding military readiness and the engagement of superior forces.

With respect to MOVE's story, the 1985 murders/fiasco was the result of the family's ongoing battle with the state over the railroading of 10 MOVE members after a 1978 armed confrontation which culminated in the friendly-fire killing of a Philadelphia cop ... Those ten MOVE members were each sentenced to 100 years incarceration.

To learn MOVE's story, besides contacting them, a reading of Margot Harry's "Attention Move: This is Amerikkka" is highly recommended. Therein, Ms. Harry uncovers government enmity of MOVE and presents evidence detailing state conspiracies to exterminate all family members — going so far as to erect training replicas of MOVE homes and conducting mock raids while dropping C-4 from the air. In the government's eye, besides living revolutionary ideology, MOVE's crime was that in 1978 they had garnered the support of the masses and successfully withstood a year-long food and utility blockage, that the family on the outside was sincerely committed to the liberation of the 10 members wrongly imprisoned; and albeit MOVE had been beaten, jailed, and had watched their children murdered by the state, they would not give up and continued to expose government injustice — MOVE's survival is an embarrassment to the system.

With respect to Shakur's concept of preparation against state repression ... It should be noted that during this epoch, this country controls the most devastating arsenal in the world. If you engage the system, or defend against it (hold territory), applying conventional military strategy, history reveals you will be annihilated (this is why we study "The Art of War", Mao's "War of the Flea" and Marghella's "Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla").

Moreover, Shakur seems to be excessively critical of MOVE for their alleged laxity against state repression (this sounds

like blaming the victim), while giving the impression that the Branch Davidians were better prepared for attack because they were minutely able to withstand the government's initial probe. Again, this schism comes from Shakur's failure to carefully analyze the specifics of each situation — particularly, that in 1985 MOVE was not anticipating the state's impending attack. MOVE was propagating ideology and protesting the unjust confinement of family members. Also, we know that the state exploited the issue of community discord and a housing violation to converge on MOVE's compound, for as Ms. Harry reports, since the 1978 incident city planners along with the F.B.I. had been plotting MOVE's execution — mainly that of MOVE Coordinator John Afrika.

In addition, for anyone to believe that the Branch Davidians were adequately prepared for government repression is a delusion ... which regrettably the facts belie ...

Finally, while constructive criticism is a necessity, instead of blaming victims for government repression, we need to thoroughly analyze and internalize the lessons of each situation to avoid future mishaps.

Three belief lessons that can be drawn from MOVE's experience are:

(1) In amerika, there is no legal form of protest - you have no constitutional right of freedom of speech absent state reprisal;

(2) If you elect to verbalize your protest, you must secure the support of the masses and ally with other progressives on common issues; and

(3) It takes great courage, fortitude and sacrifice to stand against this brutal system, and undeniably MOVE embodies these qualities — we should respect and support their dedication. ∞

**For MOVE children!
For MOVE family!
For the ones lost!**

The Student

For more information regarding MOVE, please contact:

MOVE
1630 S. 56th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19143

(Writer's note: The writer is not a MOVE member and does not take the position that he can, or should defend MOVE — clearly MOVE defends itself!)



Night Vision from page 14

nightmare world so irrational that your local supermarket is secretly stocked each night with products from an auschwitz. Then you wake up, and discover it wasn't a dream.

In avoiding the central mistake of white feminist analysis which universalizes white women's conditions (in much the same way that the northamerican "left" universalizes, uses as a reference point, the conditions of white male euro-american workers), *Night-Vision* points the way — but then takes the back road — to the site of the "inner colony". Agriculture and food supply, even among nomadic peoples, was the major defining cultural link between tribes, nations and peoples — textiles, utensils, tools and shelter all reflect the centrality of local materials and seed itself was selected over many generations for adaptability to local climates and microclimates. From the land and its ability to support the people came the traditional rituals and ceremonies defining the tribe and nation. Women's relationship to land and agriculture is alluded to throughout *Night-Vision*, but while the authors understand "land theft" as the original strategy of white settler Amerikkka they seem not to directly perceive that a) it is current and ongoing, both within and outside the continent, and b) that this theft relates directly to the colonization of women throughout history. Like other radical theo-

rists of the northamerican continent outside of Indian territory, "land" is seen as another part of the commodity system rather than at its root, and "land struggles" a quaint or nostalgic preoccupation. In many indigenous nations, it is the women who are the decision-makers when it comes to the land. From the famous Cheyenne quote "the nation is not defeated until the hearts of its women are on the ground" to the Azanian women's chant "when you strike the women, you have struck a rock", indigenous nations that are still located at the place of their ancestors depend on women's relationship to the land and by extension to the rest of the nation.

The "supermarket stocked by an auschwitz" nightmare is indeed real. But 'reassigning land and farming to men' just scrapes the surface. The connection must be more fully made between the "well over 100 million people [who] have perished so far in this worldwide restructuring of agriculture into the commodity system" and the women who form the "farming class" and the "first colony". Yet the glimmerings of a truly synthesized understanding show through the wide cracks. *Night-Vision* can be thanked for an all-too-rare mention of the Rockefeller Institute's "Green Revolution" ("as opposed to the .socialist Red revolution"!) started in the 1970s, which has resulted in a global transfer of agricultural expertise and seed from the Third World into imperialist hands, which is then sold back

as patented, sterile, 'hybrid' seed able to be cultivated only with chemical fertilizers in the intensive monoculture proven to cause topsoil destruction, but 'efficient' in capitalist terms. Additionally, factors like increased water use for beef production have changed local economies and ecosystems beyond recognition. At the bottom of this, agricultural products (as well as timber and mineral resources) generate huge profits for imperialism while ensuring mass starvation in food-exporting countries as they are forced to pay the so-called "debt" created by finance capital. The international illegal drug trade is also woven into this agro-economic web, examined but not at length in *Night-Vision*.

Peasant rebels in Chiapas and militant farmers in South Korea are the ones doing the revolutionary work of resisting that which literally steals survival from the mouths of the next generation, if not the current one. Mexican corn and Asian rice are but two of the targets of agro-imperialism in its quest for total domination of the world's food supply, and while radicals debate whether we are in the "petroleum age" or the "silicon age", people who suffer from the U.S. dumping of its agricultural product and destruction of local economies are the ones leading the militant resistance at this moment. It's not just about taking over the factories anymore, and like *Night-Vision* says, the old anti-colonial unities of race or nation or gender are dysfunctional

now. It's about returning to life. Everybody knows it, revolutionaries and even ordinary rebels know it but haven't put our finger on where to depart from the old anti-colonial political formulas.

The final two chapters of *Night-Vision* leave us caught in an apocalyptic moment with little to anchor ourselves in the coming phase. Perhaps written in a hurry to finish off the text, the segment on the liberal strategy of "multiculturalism" and the use of Blade Runner as an analogy for neo-colonial (post-colonial, really) society runs the risk of becoming almost cavalier. No direction for further study is concretely indicated, although overall the stimulation has been provided, and the gap between gender, race and class analysis in the neo-colonial age is narrower for *Night-Vision's* fresh insights. ∞

*Reviewed by Sunday Harrison
Bulldozer*

*This argument was taken up by an activist campaign known as Wages for Housework, started in Britain and inspired by a one-day general strike of women in Reykjavik, Iceland in the early 80s. As the theory went, capitalism would collapse if forced to pay for the maintenance of its workforce done by workers in the home, whether or not they are also employed outside the home.

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